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The COMMUNIST

VOL. VII DECEMBER, 1928 NO. 12

The Right Danger in the Comintern — *Bertram D. Wolfe*

Results of the Election — *Jay Lovestone*

The Political Outlook for the Workers (Communist) Party—A Discussion Article — *Scott Nearing*

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THE COMMUNIST

A Theoretical Magazine for the Discussion of Revolutionary Problems

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BERTRAM D. WOLFE, *Editor*

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BEATRICE CARLIN, *Business Manager*

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The Right Danger In The Comintern

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

The Leninist line of the Communist International and its sections is forged in the fire of struggle—not only struggle against capitalism and its open agents, the social-democracy, but struggle within the Parties themselves against every form of deviation from a Leninist line.

These deviations are an expression, usually unconscious to be sure, of the pressure of other classes, their ideology, policies and interests, upon the party of the working class. They can be broadly classified as right or "left" deviations from a Leninist line. (We put the term "left" in quotation marks because there is no position truly to the left of Leninism, which is the quintessence of revolutionary theory and practice under all circumstances). Whether one departs from Leninism to the right or to the "left" he cannot travel far without landing in the camp of the enemy. Extend both lines of deviation any distance and they coincide.

THE QUESTION OF THE "MAIN DANGER"

Those who do not grasp the dialectic relation between right and "left" errors, nor the causes that make parties more liable at one time to make errors of an opportunist and at another of a "leftist" variety, conceive this question as to which is the main danger in a very mechanical manner. Observing that the main fire of the Comintern and the Party is directed at one time against the right and at another against the "left," they come to the conclusion that it is a matter of fashions or waves, that the Comintern gets tired of fighting the "left" and diverts itself by a new "game," a fight against the right. As if the revolutionary movement were a society belle who gets a new dress because she's tired of the old one! Needless to say, such a view has nothing in common with Leninism. And those who hold it have no place in the communist movement. There are no fashions in the Comintern.

There are those who hold to another stupid notion that the inner needs of the C. P. S. U. determine the actions of the other Parties. Such people believe that if the C. P. S. U. is faced with a right danger, all other Parties must mechanically fight against the right, or vice versa. Nothing can be farther from communism

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than this philistine viewpoint. It is an expression of the social-democratic slander of the Communist International as a "Russian International." It is a distortion and caricature of the leading role of the C. P. S. U. It expresses the social-democratic rejection of the possibility of a revolutionary International. It has no correspondence with the facts as to the working of our International, and nothing in common with Leninism.

The policies of the Comintern at every stage are based upon an analysis of the world situation (which tends to give a certain correspondence in the tactics of each party) and upon an analysis of the concrete conditions of each country (which tends to give concrete differences in the tactics of each Party). For example, the same thesis of the Sixth Congress which declares that the main danger is from the right for the International as a whole, warns the Chinese Party that its main danger at the present moment comes from the "left."

The question as to which is the main danger at a given moment, right or "left" errors, is a question of the objective conditions under which the Parties struggle in each given period and the subjective moods of the masses and the Party.

To decide whether the main danger at any given moment is from the right or from the "left" we must analyze the period in which the Party finds itself. Leninism grasps each new period in its specifically new features, in this as in all respects. But there are people who never see anything new. One comrade declared after hearing a Sixth Congress report on the "third period;" "I was in the Socialist Party fourteen years and we never had a new period."

When Ludwig Lore was in our Party he was forever fighting against what he dubbed our "adventurism," our, to him, annoying habit of finding new features and new periods and new situations in the swiftly moving post-war world and in rapidly changing America. Naturally, such a social-democratic attitude, expressed in the view that there is never anything new, will lead to the two anti-Leninist concepts indicated above: that the fight against right and "left" is a game or matter of fashions and that all parties mechanically follow the fashion set in Moscow. Lore advanced both these viewpoints.

THE PRESENT PERIOD

The present period is estimated by the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in the following terms:

> "The third period is the period in which the economy of capitalism and at the same time the economy of the Soviet Union surpass the pre-war level. . . For the capitalist world it is a period

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of rapid technical progress, of accelerated concentration in cartels and trusts, of tendencies to state capitalism, and, at the same time, a period of the strongest development of the contradictions of world economy which proceeds in forms determined by the whole previous course of the general crisis of capitalism (shrinkage of markets, Soviet Union, colonial movements, growth of the inner contradictions of capitalism). This third period, in which the antagonisms between the growth of productive forces and the restriction of markets have greatly intensified, inevitably leads to a fresh epoch of wars among the imperialist states, of wars against imperialism and imperialist intervention, of gigantic class struggles.

"This period, in which all *International* antagonisms (antagonisms between the capitalist countries and the Soviet Union, the military occupation of northern China as the beginning of the dismemberment of China, and the conflicts among the imperialists, etc.) become more acute, in which the *inner* contradictions in the capitalist countries are intensified (the process of radicalization among the working masses, the intensification of class war, in which movements in the colonies are released: China, India, Egypt, Syria) leads inevitably to a further development of the contradictions of capitalist stabilization, to a subsequent shaking of this stabilization and to a sharp intensification of the general crisis of capitalism."

THE WAR PROBLEM: THE DECISIVE FACTOR IN THE SITUATION

This analysis, in fact, the whole work of the Sixth Congress on every question, leads to the same conclusion—that the war danger is the decisive factor in the present situation. The keynote of the Congress to the various sections of the Comintern may be summed up as follows: We are in a war period. Prepare the Parties for war.

In such a situation an underestimation of the war danger, and a consequent inadequate struggle against war, is the main danger for the proletariat and its communist vanguard.

Every question of daily policy, of tactics, of organization, was subordinated by the Sixth World Congress to the question of the war danger and the struggle against war. Class struggle in a war period takes on an unparalleled sharpness. To the master class of the home country, it is treason. Its logical culmination is civil war.

A war period subjects the sections of the Comintern to the highest test to which they can be subjected. The Parties must be steeled for such struggles. Any failure to grasp the new period, any underestimation of the war danger, any failure to struggle against it, any reluctance to adapt the Party to the new period in organization and in policies, any resistance to a self-critical examination of weakness which must be eliminated, any tendency to blur or confuse the class line of the Party, to underestimate the enemy, open and covert, any tendency to excessive legalism when the very conditions of struggle make illegal activities indispensable, to passivity

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when the objective conditions require and make possible the greatest activity, to indiscipline and disunity when discipline and unity are essential, to capitulation before difficulties when the revolutionary will of the Party and the working class must rise to fresh heights —any such tendencies hinder the Party's preparation for the gigantic battles it faces, and paralyze its capacity to meet the tasks that the period places before it. But a mere mention of these "dangers" shows that in such a situation the right is the main danger.

If we generalize a number of recent errors and deviations of the various Parties and ask ourselves what tendency they show, we come to the same conclusion that the right danger is the main danger. It reveals right errors and right tendencies in a whole row of Parties including even the Bolshevik Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

ROOTS OF PRESENT RIGHT ERRORS

If we ask ourselves: How is this possible? What are the roots of such errors in our revolutionary Parties? Whence do they come into our Parties? We must answer that the roots of these errors and tendencies are to be found: 1. In the complicated situation in which we carry on our struggle, and its uneven development; 2. In the continued duration under changed forms of the partial stabilization of capitalism; 3. In the consequent strength of reformism in the ranks of the working class, and the repeated penetration of its influence even into the ranks of the Parties; 4. In the lack of revolutionary experience, of test in the fire of struggle, of many of our Parties; 5. In the low level of their revolutionary theory; 6. In the insufficiently proletarian composition and insufficient organizational roots in basic industry of many of the sections.

TROTSKYISM AND THE RIGHT DANGER

Formerly Trotskyism represented the main danger on a world scale in the ranks of the Comintern. But in most of the sections (especially C. P. S. U., Germany, France and to a lesser extent Czechoslovakia) Trotskyism has been shattered and the Trotsky opposition has gone over in all basic questions to the viewpoint of the social-democracy and taken on an openly counter-revolutionary character, thus showing the frankly opportunistic and counter-revolutionary content that was veiled behind their "left" phrases. This expulsion and degeneration of the Trotsky opposition makes much clearer in such Parties as have "settled" with Trotskyism the fact that the chief danger *within* the ranks of the Parties is the right danger in its openly opportunistic form.

In America, certain factors in the objective situation have made a new outbreak of Trotskyism possible. The Declaration of the

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C. E. C. on "The Struggle Against Trotskyism and the Right Danger" defines the basis for the recurrence of Trotskyism in America as follows:

> "The strength of American imperialism, the contradictions of the simultaneous development of reformism and the radicalization of certain sections of the working class tend to create confusion in some sections of our Party. The uneven tempo of the radicalization of the unskilled masses simultaneously with the shifting of the labor aristocracy to the right, and the divisions within the working class (organized and unorganized, foreign-born and native, skilled and unskilled, etc.) find expression in differences of opinion and serve as a basis for groupings within our Party.
>
> "We are at a turning point in the life of our Party. In the process of transition from a mere propaganda organization to a political party of action, the Party has become a leader of working-class mass activities. Some sections of the Party have been unable to adapt themselves to this sharp turn.
>
> "The growing attacks against our Party . . . have had the effect of filling some members of our Party with pessimism, of making them capitulate before the growing forces of reaction. A wrong estimation of the international role of the Soviet Union, the growing pressure of the imperialist powers against the sole working-class state, has also had its effects. . . . .
>
> "On the basis of the contradictions and difficulties of the situation, certain members have lost faith in the Party's capacity to lead, have developed a wrong attitude denying the leading role of the Party in mass organizations, have developed an erroneous attitude towards the Communist International, challenging the correctness of the Comintern, slandering the leadership of the Comintern as a right-wing leadership, and speculating on the alleged differences in the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union."

In view of the flare-up of Trotskyism within our ranks it becomes necessary for us to define the relation between the struggle against Trotskyism and the struggle against the right danger generally. This the C. E. C. declaration does in the following words:

> "In the Workers (Communist) Party— in the present situation in which Trotskyism makes its reappearance, already stripped of its left phrases, as outright opportunism—Trotskyism is an organic part of the right danger. In our Party we must concentrate the fight against two dangers: first, the right danger, against outright opportunism and then against its Trotskyist variations, which is opportunism covered with left phrases. Both come to a head and converge into a common attack against the Party and the Comintern."

MANIFESTATION OF THE RIGHT DANGER IN THE C. I.

Legality at any price, parliamentary illusions, passivity in the face of intensified oppression of the masses and their growing radicalization, the adoption of a wrong policy towards the social democracy, which is today "the agitprop department and the org.

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department" for imperialism in its preparation of war on the Soviet Union, inadequate internationalism, neglect of the national question and the struggle of the colonial peoples, neglect of the peasant question, failure to adapt tactics to the changing situation in the trade unions, placing of trade-union discipline above party discipline, underestimation of the war danger and insufficient or incorrect forms of struggle against it—these are the main manifestations of the right danger in the various sections of the Comintern.

THE RIGHT DANGER IN THE C. P. S. U.

Under the proletarian dictatorship, the class struggle continues in altered form. Capitalism has been overthrown, socialism is being built, but capitalism is far from uprooted. In the existence of the small producer and unorganized market relations, in the conditions of the N. E. P. lie the possibilities of a restoration of capitalism. Even more, the conditions of the N. E. P. constantly recreate capitalist conditions and capitalist ideology in many spheres. Against these tendencies to the recreation of capitalist conditions, the proletarian state under the leadership of the Communist Party wages relentless war. It makes headway. Now slowly, now rapidly, it drives the remnants of the capitalist system out of sphere after sphere, and, altho unevenly and with much difficulty, constructs the foundations of the new social order. Between the predominant agrarian economy and the growing industrialization, between planned production and unorganized market relations, between large-scale industry and small production, between cooperatives and individual producers, between large-scale Soviet farms and small peasant farming—a struggle goes on. On the one side is the proletariat and its allies, on the other side the capitalist elements, the Nepman, the Kulak. Behind the Nepman and Kulak stand the forces of international reaction. Behind the workers of the Soviet Union, the workers of the world.

BASIS OF TROTSKYISM

The difficulties of socialist construction in a country where the peasant and petty producer play such a large role, are obvious. "As long as we live in a petit-bourgeois country, capitalism has in Russia a stronger economic basis than communism," Lenin wrote. . . . "Only then when the country is electrified, and when industry, agriculture, and transport are completely on the basis of the great industries of the present age, only then shall we have gained a definite victory."

Under these circumstances first appeared as the main danger the "left" errors of Trotskyism. Terrified by the difficulties,

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overestimating the forces of the enemy, underestimating the possibilities of constructing socialism in the Soviet Union, the Trotsky opposition developed projects for super-industrialization at the expense of agriculture, a tax and price policy which would have broken the alliance between proletariat and peasantry, a theoretical estimate of the role of the peasantry leading to the conclusion that such rupture and consequent uprisings were inevitable (Trotskyist "permanent revolution"), despair as to the continued existence of the proletarian dictatorship, despair as to the possibility of building socialism unless it received immediate aid from successful revolutions in the advanced countries, the theory of the inevitable degeneration of the Party and the state unless such aid came speedily, and finally an estimate of the Party and state as already in full degeneration (Thermidor) and of the necessity of an open struggle against state and Party and Comintern (conditional defense, underground conspiracy, etc.), whereby the Trotsky opposition landed full in the camp of the counter-revolution, thereby proving the correctness of the estimate of the Comintern and the C. P. S. U. that Trotskyism, for all its "left" phrases was a social-democratic deviation. A victory of Trotskyism would have led to the restoration of capitalism. While such tendencies still exist, they have been pretty well shattered.

BASIS OF THE RIGHT DANGER

Deviations are usually "born twins." The opposite pole of reaction to the difficulties of socialist construction is the right, openly opportunistic deviation from a Leninist line. It underestimates the strength of the enemy, it underestimates the danger of capitalist restoration, it fails to grasp the nature of the class struggle under the proletarian dictatorship, wants to slow down the tempo of industrialization, expresses the pressure of the petit-bourgeois and peasant ideology in the form of propositions to yield along the whole line, develop agriculture at the expense of industry, soften the struggle against Kulak and Nepman, weaken the foreign trade monopoly, slow up or abandon the building of Soviet state farms and collective large-scale agriculture. The victory of the right tendencies would also pave the way for the restoration of capitalism by strengthening the capitalist tendencies and weakening the socialist tendencies in Soviet economy.

TOLERANCE AND CONCILIATION TENDENCIES

Indirect expressions of the right danger are to be found in the form of an underestimation of the danger itself, in resistance to self-criticism, in abstract remarks about the right danger in general

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in place of concrete analysis of actual errors and deviations, in bureaucratic inertia or resistance to the execution of the new policies and decisions of the Fifteenth Party Convention, in a tendency to adopt a conciliatory attitude toward errors and elements expressing the right danger.

Open and indirect expressions of the right danger showed themselves in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in various places—in the lower organizations in the villages (during the grain collection crisis), in the Soviet and cooperative apparatus, in district committees, conciliatory tendencies even in the Moscow District Committee and in the Central Committee itself, where some slight tendencies of a conciliatory attitude toward the right danger were manifested at the July Plenum. There were, however, no right tendencies or conciliatory attitude toward the right danger in the Political Committee as was rumored by oppositionists, and "elements who face the Party with anything but good intentions."

The Moscow Committee has adopted the measures necessary to correct such conciliatory tendencies as manifested themselves, with the help of the district functionaries and the Central Committee. The Party as a whole has had its attention thoroughly concentrated on the danger from the right and will overcome it just as it overcame and liquidated the Trotsky danger. And as in the former case it will have the support of the brother Parties.

THE CZECHOSLOVAKIAN PARTY

The Czechoslovakian Party in many ways presents a classic example of right dangers in the present period. The situation in Czechoslovakia is characterized by a great growth in monopoly, a growth in rationalization, a drive for foreign markets, and preparation for war on the Soviet Union. This is accompanied by a sharpening state pressure on the working class, abandonment of democratic pretenses and bourgeois freedoms, growing censorship and moves towards outlawing the Party and the mass organizations led by the communists. There is a leftward movement among the masses of both workers and peasants, accompanied by a simultaneous movement to the right of the reformists and a growth of fascism.

The Party failed to comprehend the new situation, remained inactive and failed to lead the masses in struggle. The Czech Party is a mass Party—the third largest in the International. Although it proved capable of rallying the masses in the relatively peaceful period that preceded, it proved unequal to the task of adapting its organization and methods of struggle to the new period and lost contact with and the confidence of the masses. It is a Party that

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came over en masse from the old social democracy carrying over much of social-democratic tradition. It has not yet been tested in the fire of sharp struggles, nor suffered the open dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Under the growing attacks it manifested excessive legalism, underestimated the danger of suppression, some elements attempting to lessen the attack by weakening the revolutionary character of its activities. Neither was sufficient illegal activity carried on nor was there an energetic enough struggle against being driven into illegality. The Party underestimated the war danger, failed to struggle sufficiently against it, failed to lead economic struggles against worsening conditions of the workers, remained passive in the face of peasant discontent, neglected the national question, and some elements developed the fatalistic theory that nothing can be done because the "masses are not ready to fight." Finally, an internal crisis was precipitated by the failure of a so-called "Red Day" in which the Party demonstrated its unpreparedness for struggle and how far it had lost contact with the masses.

The World Congress in consultation with the Czech delegation took the matter energetically in hand and addressed an open letter to the Party calculated to cause a prolonged and self-critical discussion, a thorough "shake-up," a change in the Party life from top to bottom, a change even in the composition of the Party by the recruiting of young revolutionary workers, the raising of its ideological level, a thorough reorganization, and a transition from opportunist passivity to Bolshevist activity. The discussion will last over three months and end with a convention and new election of all leading bodies from top to bottom.

THE RIGHT DANGER IN OTHER LEADING PARTIES

The social democracy throughout the world today is playing the role of the watch dog of imperialism, the splitter of the labor movement, the apostle of class collaboration, the advance agent of the Kellogg Pact and the League of Nations, the war salesman for imperialism, the inciter of war on the Soviet Union. The so-called "left" leadership in the social democracy is especially dangerous today when the masses are moving to the left and it plays the role of fooling those whom the openly right leaders can no longer fool.

Recognizing this situation, the Ninth Plenum of the E. C. C. I. instructed the French Communist Party to change its line toward the social-democracy in France and the British Party to change its line towards the Labor Party, which has become, in all important respects, an ordinary social-democratic party. For the French Party it issued the slogan "Class against Class" for the election campaign and in Britain the tactic of independent communist candidacies against the Labor Party. The World Congress confirmed this new

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line of more energetic fight against the leadership of the social democracy and directed its intensification and extension to other parties and to every field of struggle.

In France right tendencies manifested themselves in a certain opposition to the new line, in parliamentary illusions, in an underestimation of the traitorous role of the "left" social democrats. The Congress took sharp measures to combat these tendencies, even reorganizing the political committee.

In Great Britain the right danger takes a similar form.

In Germany also there is manifest among some elements a certain underestimation of the traitorous role of the "left" social democracy. To this must be added the advancing of such social-democratic slogans as "control of production" (as a slogan of action under capitalism), resistance to the decisions of the IV Congress of the R. I. L. U., putting the discipline of the trade unions above that of the Party, insufficient struggle against the trade-union tactics of the reformists, an attempt at a new crystallization of the right elements in the Party (Brandler) and a tolerance of the right errors and groupings (Ewert-Gerhard),—a conciliation tendency. These tendencies are particularly dangerous in a country where the social democracy still has a strong influence over the masses, and the Comintern is giving most energetic support to the leadership of the German Party in its efforts to fight the right danger.

THE RIGHT DANGER IN THE AMERICAN PARTY

The right danger in the American Party assumes the following forms:

1. A wrong attitude towards the Socialist Party. This manifested itself particularly in the transition period when the Party was moving towards a new line on the S. P. but had not yet fully made the change. It showed itself in the Panken case, in the open letter to the National Committee of the S. P., in the proposed letter to the socialist administration in Reading drafted by local comrades, approved by a member of the C. E. C. but rejected by the C. E. C. Even before the World Congress our May Plenum exercised self-criticism of these errors, but since the Congress, the California District has addressed a new open letter with united-front-from-above characteristics to the S. P. showing that the same tendencies still exist in that district. The C. E. C. was unanimous in its criticism. Nevertheless the California District Organizer actually addressed a letter to its units defending the errors. In general, the California District presents the right danger in its sharpest form and has made more opportunistic errors than all other districts put together. The action of the D. O. indicates a conscious opportunist line that resists correction.

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2. Wrong attitude towards the Labor Party. Errors were made in articles in which illusions were developed as to the possibilities of the Labor Party, a role ascribed to it that only a Communist Party can perform, etc. Even C. E. C. members wrote such articles. In Minnesota there was resistance to fighting Shipstead, a tendency to put the discipline of the so-called Farmer-Labor Party above that of the Communist Party, actual liquidation tendencies.

3. Insufficient energy in organizing the unorganized. Remnants of craft ideology in the needle trades. Slowness in entering the mining campaign (criticized by the February and May Plenums). Hesitancy on the part of some comrades on the question of the need of organization of a new textile union. Simultaneously a tendency on the part of some comrades to slacken or abandon altogether the work in the old trade unions.

4. Underestimation of Negro work. Remnants of white chauvinism.

5. Lack of faith in the Party. The C. E. C. declaration on Trotskyism and the right danger scores a "tendency to belittle the activities of the Party, an attitude of skepticism and cynicism, a conception that the Party is a brake on the revolutionary activities of the masses. There is a strong feeling against the Party assuming the leadership in mass organizations (the attitude of Sulkanen and Askeli in the Finnish clubs) and resistance to showing the face of the Party in mass organizations (attitude of some comrades in the Negro Labor Congress)."

6. Capitulation before difficulties. Some comrades become pessimistic in the face of the great difficulties facing our Party. They overestimate the difficulties. They underestimate the opportunities for work and the role of the Party. "The Party is doing too much," they declare. "In the present period it should limit itself to simple tasks and be a mere educational organization."

Some needle trades comrades showed a tendency to give up the long fight in that industry. The California District Committee capitulated before the difficulties of getting the Party on the ballot in that state.

As the obverse of this tendency to capitulate before difficulties there is the tendency to juggle the difficulties away with left phrases instead of analyzing and meeting them. To underestimate the strength of the enemy is to underestimate the nature of the struggle we must wage.

7. Insufficient proletarianization. Lack of emphasis on shop nuclei and factory work (especially in California where some elements even deny the existence of industry and of opportunities for struggle, where there is only one shop nucleus in the district and that not functioning, where only forty per cent of the membership are

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workers in industry. The same is true in Denver and to a lesser extent in Buffalo and in the state of Connecticut). Insufficient energy in drawing proletarian elements from the factories into leadership.

8. Pacifism and an underestimation of the war danger. The work of our fraction in the Anti-Imperialist League has been characterized by a whole series of pacifist errors as has the work of the California District ("Stop the Flow of Blood," "Join the Nicaraguan Red Cross," the instruction to Washington demonstrators to plead guilty, etc., and in California the "welcome to the fleet" bulletin against learning how to use a gun, etc. An excess of dependence on petit-bourgeois liberals in anti-imperialist work. In general the whole Party has shown insufficient energy in fighting American imperialism. The trade-union work has been lacking in this respect also. There has been insufficient contact with the Parties of the Latin-American countries. Some leading comrades have shown an underestimation of the war danger by denying the primacy of the outer contradictions of the imperialist powers in the present period.

9. Wrong attitude towards the Communist International. On this the C. E. C. declaration says:

> "This is one of the worst manifestations of the right-wing danger in our Party. On the part of some comrades there is a tendency to accept the C. I. decisions only with reservations. The tendency to attack the leadership of the C. I. as a right-wing leadership, to attack the C. E. C. of the C. P. S. U., to speculate on alleged differences within the leading group of the Russian Party, undermining thereby the prestige of the leadership of the C. I. (Cannon). The substitution for the Leninist conception of the Communist Party of the theory of permanent factionalism."

10. Trotskyism. On this the declaration states in part:

> "Trotskyism, in its last stage of development, is the summing up, is the unifying force of all these opportunistic right dangers."

I have followed fairly closely in this analysis the declaration of the C. E. C. several times quoted above. In another place I shall return to the question of right dangers in the American Party. This article can best be brought to a close by the quotation of a part of the closing section of the C. E. C. declaration:

> "The right danger in the American Party is especially great, because our Party has not yet gone through a really revolutionary situation. It has had no chance to go through the ordeal of fire. But we can feel confident—on the basis of our experiences during the attack of the government in 1919-20, when the Party was driven underground—that the core of the Party and its leadership are sound and will, with the help of the Comintern, smash the right danger.

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"The following basic tasks confront us in connection with the recurrence of Trotskyism and the right danger in the Party:

1. *No tolerance of Trotskyism in the ranks of the Party.* We call upon all District Executive Committees and all subdivisions of the Party to expel all followers of Trotsky.

2. The C. E. C. will wage a broad, thoro, ideological campaign against Trotskyism.

3. A broad ideological campaign is necessary against all other manifestations of the right danger and against the slightest tolerance of the right danger in the Party. Uncompromising struggle against the Socialist Party; clear attitude towards the leading role of the Communist Party; non-hesitant struggle for the organization of the unorganized and for new unions; exposures of white chauvinism in our ranks; concentration on factories; drawing of proletarian elements into the leadership of the Party; fight against underestimation of the war danger and pacifist illusions. These are the major tasks confronting us in fighting the right danger.

4. Energetic defense of the C. I. and unreserved acceptance of all its decisions.

5. The frankest, most thoro self-criticism is necessary from the top to the bottom in the Party.

6. Merciless struggle against any manifestation of bureaucratism in the Party."

An absolute prerequisite for a successful fight against the right danger, whether it comes in the form of open opportunism or camouflaged with left phrases in the form of Trotskyism, is the unity of all communist forces under the leadership of the C. E. C. for the line of the Communist International.

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The 1928 Elections[1]

By JAY LOVESTONE

When we deal with American capitalist politics of today, we deal with billions insofar as the policies of the financiers and manufacturers are concerned. And when we deal with the election of a president, we are confronting a problem of selecting an individual who has more power than any czar, king, or monarch ever had. When Mr. Hoover goes into the White House as the symbol of the executive power of the American ruling class, he will have the power of appointing sixty thousand government officials, drawing an annual salary of one hundred twenty seven and a half million dollars. This is a little kingdom in itself. The class relations in the United States now make imperative the maintenance of such a huge government bureaucracy and such an uncrowned monarch as Mr. Hoover will be.

Though the details of the election campaign are not yet available, the broad lines, the fundamental trends, can already be seen. In considering the results of the 1928 elections, we should look upon them not from the angle of an event of a few months, but rather in the light of the events of the entire period, from 1896 to 1928.

I take 1896 because that was the beginning of American imperialism in full bloom. I take 1928 because it marks a forward stride in American imperialism to powers far in excess of those ever wielded by any of the other imperialist countries, such as France, Germany, Italy or England. From McKinley to Hoover, we have a very good picture of imperialist growth, aggression, brutality and domination. And when we analyse the methods of American capitalist politics, when we analyze the characteristics of American bourgeois political behaviour, we should keep one factor in mind. What is that? A pioneer of American imperialist politics, a pioneer of Wall Streets's political strategy, was a gentleman known as Marcus "Aurelius" Hanna. He was the "noblest Roman of them all." His maxim was: "If you want anything in politics, go out and buy it." This was the keynote of the American employing-class election campaign, just ended.

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[1]This article consists of excerpts from the speech delivered by Jay Lovestone at the opening of the Workers School Forum on November 11. Lack of space prohibits printing the speech in full.

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THE MEANING OF THE CAPITALIST NOMINATIONS

The nominations of Mr. Hoover and Mr. Smith in themselves have tremendous significance. What is the meaning for the working class of the nomination of Hoover? The last republican convention, with its nomination of Hoover, was an index of the prowess, of the supremacy of finance capital in the United States.

Hoover is the outspoken, unhesitatingly ruthless champion of finance capital. He is the best trained, the most capable, the most experienced chairman of the executive committee of the American capitalist class that this class has had. Coolidge? He was a shadow beside Hoover. Wilson? He was a schoolmaster who could take lessons from Mr. Hoover in the art and science of the politics of imperialism. When there was a dirty job to perform in China, Mr. Hoover was there to do it. If there was a bloody piece of work to do in Hungary, Mr. Hoover was there to do that. And if a daring, underhanded effort was to be made to destroy the proletarian Russian Revolution, Mr. Hoover was there to try it. In other words, wherever the hand of American imperialism was extended for aggression, covered of course with fake humanitarianism—"saving Belgium," even trying to "save the Russian people"—there went Mr. Hoover as symbol of the power of finance capital in the U. S.

Concretely, the meaning of Hoover's nomination is the following: First of all it indicates a growth of the executive power of the American government. Never before had anyone been nominated for the presidency by the bourgeoisie, who had not previously held any public elective office.

Second, it indicates the further tremendous merging of big business with the highest governmental machinery.

Third, Hoover is a symbol of capitalist rationalization, of the speed-up, of American efficiency and mass production. Hoover is the president of capitalist rationalization.

Mr. Hoover thinks in kilowatts and horse power. For the first time in the history of "this greatest democracy on earth" the United States will have an engineer instead of a lawyer as president. Significant enough for the *Magazine of Wall Street* (November 17, 1928) to comment upon as follows:

> "A business nation at last has a business chief. . . No wonder the stock market thrilled to the news of his election and met sympathetic responses from all the bourses of Europe! *No hard-boiled business directorate could have chosen more sagaciously.* . .[2] Political and business leadership are united in the chief executive of the nation."

[2]Of course, it was a hard-boiled business directorate that really made Hoover president.

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Insofar as Hoover is a crass example of an "irregular" party man of the bourgeoisie, it indicates the fact that the bourgeoisie was never so powerful and has never felt as secure as it does today, to be able so easily to discard the formalities of party allegiance.

Capitalist party lines are disappearing. The very basis for the two-party system—one of the cornerstones of America's fraudulent democracy—is being rudely shaken.

Now let us examine Mr. Smith. He is a Catholic. It is the first time a Catholic has been nominated for the presidency. The nomination of Mr. Smith is significant in the following ways:

It is an indication of the extent to which the assimilation process has been going on in the country. "Al" Smith is commonly associated with the last wave of pre-war immigration, largely Catholic, which has now been largely assimilated. Before the war, in 1904, 1912 or 1916, neither big capitalist party would have nominated a Catholic. But now Tammany, spokesman for this last wave of immigration, feels safe in naming a Catholic as its candidate.

The nomination of Mr. Smith was the attempt of a new force to assume the leadership of and to reconstruct the Democratic Party. The Democratic Party leadership in the past was based mainly on the southern plantation owners. It has been in a crisis. Since the Civil War, it has had only four presidential victories.

These southern plantation owners have, practically speaking, been driven out of the leadership of the Democratic Party. What Bryan and Wilson failed to do has been done by the new Tammany forces whose spokesman is Mr. Smith.

What new forces does Smith represent? Smith's ascendency to the leadership of the Democratic Party is a symbol of the supremacy of finance capital in the Democratic Party. The Democratic Party used to have and still has differences with the Republican Party, but these differences are shrinking constantly. This was especially evident in the last election. For instance the domination of the Democratic Party by finance capital is reflected clearly in the selection of John J. Raskob, chairman of the Finance Committee of General Motors Company (today the biggest automobile corporation in the world, operating on an international scale, particularly after its purchase of the gigantic Opel Motor Works in Germany) as the national chairman of the Democratic Party. Thus one of Wall Street's most authoritative journals characterizes the two big bourgeois parties as symbolized by their candidates:

> "It is not an exaggeration to say that he (Hoover) has considered himself and has actually been the director-general of American business. *Never before, here or anywhere else, has a government been so*

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completely fused with business. He respects big business and admires big business men. . . There can be no doubt that Hoover as president would be without precedent. He would be a dynamic business president, even as Coolidge has been a static business president. He would be the first business, as distinguished from political, president the country has had. . .

"Al Smith's record in politics is the best possible pledge that he will make a successful administrator of the biggest business of all. . . that of managing the political business organization of the United States. But how about the Smith policies? They are just the reverse of Hoover in relation to business. Hoover emphasized economics; Smith politics. *Hoover would serve the public by serving business;* Smith would serve business by serving the public."

The Socialist Party which had long since dropped all pretense of being a revolutionary Marxian party made a very sharp turn still further to the right in its convention last April. In this campaign, the Socialist Party has broken completely with every vestige of working-class traditions and all working-class policy and interests. It is true that the manager of the Socialist Party campaign was not Mr. Raskob. But today the Socialist Party is the party of small business men and professionals, liberal lawyers, doctors, and preachers, etc.—the smaller capitalists. Since the campaign ended, the Socialist Party has been appealing frantically for the organization of an all-inclusive Liberal Party.

ISSUES IN THE CAMPAIGN

What were the issues in the election campaign?

1. *Prosperity.* The first issue was "prosperity." The American bourgeoisie succeeded to a considerable extent in getting out of the period of depression in which the country was at the close of last year. There still remain certain very serious symptoms of *crises*: in credit, in mass production. At the same time, we still have with us very serious manifestations of unemployment. Certain industries are still in a critical condition. But the recent depression *in its worst form* has gone for the present. American politics and economics are not separable as the bourgeoisie would have the workers believe, but are very much one and the same, interwoven and enmeshed.

Within this "prosperity" issue there was hidden the issue of *the war danger.* Mr. Hoover repeatedly said in his campaign speeches substantially: "We must have prosperity and if we cannot get prosperity at home, we must go out and fight for it in the markets of the world." Thus *the war danger, unemployment, speed-up, the right to strike, and injunctions were sharply and deeply involved in this issue.* Prosperity, this fine beautiful sun with

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its dazzling brilliance for the capitalists, was blinding enough for the masses, to hide a multitude of pitfalls and difficulties.

Many may have seen in recent weeks a picture entitled "The Three Titans of Distributed Contentment." This picture was circulated widely in the election campaign, a picture of three gentlemen, Mr. Coolidge in the middle, Hoover on the right and Mellon on the left. At the bottom of this picture runs the following legend: "If you had these three men working for you, would you fire them?" This is a very instructive little picture. It is very appealing. Take the worker who gets ten or fifteen dollars a week. He looks at it and says to himself: "*Look who is working for me! Coolidge, the president of today! Hoover, the president of tomorrow! Mellon, the fellow who has the most whiskey and the most money in the country! What else can anybody ask?*" Thus did the bourgeoisie appeal to the patriotism of the American worker.

They appealed to his pride as a citizen of "the greatest democracy on God's green earth," whatever that is. They appealed to his "business ideals." And very few Americans today are not poisoned, in varying degrees, by these "business ideals."

Hoover works very quickly. He doesn't assume the presidency until next March but he has already left to visit nine Latin-American countries as president-elect—really as emperor of two continents. He has not yet been inaugurated. But his head is already uneasy in anticipation of the crown, working on plans for increasing the domination of American imperialism in Central and South America. Hoover has already made his inaugural address, in fact, if not officially. Let me cite a section of this speech. It shows the key to the issue of capitalist prosperity and the challenge which particularly the revolutionary workers must answer. Speaking in Boston, the place where the police strike was broken by his predecessor, President Coolidge, Hoover declared:

> "We in America are nearer to the final triumph over poverty than ever before in the history of any land. The poorhouse is vanishing from among us. We have not yet reached the goal but given a chance to go forward with the policies of the last eight years, we shall soon, with the help of God, be in sight of the day when poverty will be banished from this nation. There is no guarantee against poverty equal to a job for every man. That is the primary purpose of the economic policies we advocate."

Why did Hoover lose Massachusetts after he made this speech? Why did he lose Rhode Island? The potency of the prosperity issue is brought forth here in bold relief. *Hoover lost these states because*

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there was no possibility for the Republican Party to put over the fake prosperity propaganda successfully enough in these states. He lost them especially because of the crisis in the textile industry and not merely because there are many Catholics there. A hungry Catholic will vote against a Catholic who is in office and a pot-bellied Catholic or a full-gasoline tank Catholic skilled worker will vote for Hoover rather than for the Catholic Smith. One cannot eat a cross even when it is made of gold. Catholicism was a secondary factor in the contest. Thus Mr. Hoover lost and Mr. Smith carried New Bedford, the scene of the long, bitter strike of more than a score of thousands of textile workers.

But while capitalists speak of prosperity, we find that there are five million workers in the United States whose income is less than one thousand dollars a year. And there are several million farmers in this country who aren't worth, financially, the dirt they tread on. At least forty million people in the United States are below the income level of decency, according to the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics. We need only mention the coal, steel, oil and textile towns. Last year twenty-five thousand workers were killed and four hundred thousand wounded in the manufacturing industries alone. Of such prosperity Mr. Hoover said not a word. It was a different prosperity which elected Mr. Hoover and of which he has been boasting—the prosperity of the ruling class.

2. *The Tariff.* The traditional difference between the Republican and Democratic Parties has been on the tariff issue. But this year, in this election, Mr. Smith threw overboard completely the old traditional democratic stand. He didn't say he wants a tariff lower than that which is now in force. He said he wants a "scientific" tariff. His complaint against the present Fordney-McCumber tariff law was only based on what he called its "unscientific character." This is only another reflex of the changed economic basis of the new, the Smith leadership of the Democratic Party.

3. *Prohibition.* Prohibition was not a fake issue. Prohibition divided very seriously the biggest capitalist leaders. Let us examine two capitalist viewpoints, one of a powerful industrial magnate supporting Hoover, the other of a powerful manufacturing mogul supporting Smith. These capitalists happen to be fighting each other today in the most concentrated, most highly developed industry in America—the automobile industry. It is a question as to who is the bigger, but they are both among the biggest of America's growing millionaire multitude.

> "If the Volstead law were changed, we would have to shut up our plants. Everything in the United States is keyed up to a new pace which started with prohibition. The speed at which we run

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> our motor cars, operate our intricate machinery and generally live, would be impossible with liquor. No, there is no chance of even modification."

Thus spoke Henry Ford, an ardent, generous supporter of Hoover. Said Mr. Raskob, multi-millionaire manager of Smith's campaign: "We must get rid of the damnable infliction of prohibtion." And some of the strongest opposition to Smith coming from the new industrial states of the south, is reflected in the following from the *Manufacturers' Record* (Baltimore) comment on Smith's defeat:

> "America in a referendum on the liquor question . . . stands by its experience in the noblest experiment ever attempted by any government on earth for the advancement of humanity."

One group of capitalists thinks that prohibition is necessary as a disciplining force for the workers, as an insurance of efficiency, to make the workers more easily adaptable to the speed-up system, to the huge, highly organized factories. The other group says prohibition might be good, but cannot be enforced. A government which has a law on the books which it cannot enforce is only promoting a deep-going disrespect and disregard for the law as such. Sooner or later this will serve as a lever, they say, to discredit and undermine the whole present system of government.

Let none underestimate the fact that there is a growing hatred of government, that there is a growing disrespect for the "law" because of the prohibtion act and its attempted enforcement. In certain respects both groups are correct. Ford is right in his plea for prohibition as an aid to efficiency. Raskob is right in his complaint against prohibition.

4. *Agriculture.* Neither big bourgeois party has a solution for the farmers. In its acutest form the American agricultural crisis is ended. There is no serious crisis in agricultural production today, but there is still a serious crisis for the great bulk of the agricultural masses. The crisis in agricultural production has been relieved temporarily—but only at the expense of several millions of farmers who have been driven off the land.

In general this was a pretty hot election campaign. *But the real, the basic issues, were not put before the masses. The bourgeoisie did everything to hide such real, pressing issues confronting the workers, as the war danger, unemployment, the Negro question, the right to strike, to organize, etc.*

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SOME SPECIAL FEATURES OF THE ELECTION

Undoubtedly the bourgeoisie succeeded in arousing a keener interest in the present election campaign than in any previous campaign. The political machines of the capitalist parties succeeded in mobilizing a larger percentage of the voters; more than fifty-five per cent of the total eligible voters, or about thirty-nine millions, participated,—ten million more than in the 1924 elections. This means greater illusions, more widespread belief in fake democracy.

The second feature of the election campaign is the impetus given to the rapid progress and huge merging of the big capitalist parties' machinery with that of the big trusts. For example, the campaign manager for finance in the Republican Party was Major General James J. Harbord, president of the Radio Corporation of America. During the campaign, he officially resigned his business job, but the morning after election day, he took it back. The chairman of the Democratic Party campaign for finances was Mr. Raskob, of General Motors. He resigned his business job. He will soon get a bigger and better one. Especially this year the management of many gigantic factories literally became campaign committees for the Republican or the Democratic Parties.

The *Magazine of Wall Street* (Oct. 6, 1928, p. 1081) says editorially:

> *"This election will be more like a corporation meeting than any of its forty-four predecessors. Outside of land ownership, the United States is now controlled by corporations."*

The big bourgeoisie has certainly made the methods of highest industrial technique its own. The radio for example, was used with deadly effectiveness to mislead millions of workers. The American bourgeoisie exploits the most modern devices for increasing its paralyzing hold on the minds of the masses.

The party lines were broken this year more than ever before. One can cite list after list of leading figures of the capitalist class who only last year were republicans and this year staunch democrats, or vice versa. Among these are, just to mention a few; from the Republican to the Democratic Party, Rudolph Spreckels, sugar baron; John J. Raskob and Pierre S. Dupont, Samuel M. Rea, former president of the Pennsylvania Railroad, Edward S. Harkness, of New York, William H. Woodin, president of the American Car & Foundry Company, Arthur Curtis James, the largest railroad security owner in the United States, Charles H. Sabin, head of the Guarantee Trust Company, and Jerome D. Green, close associate of Rockefeller.

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From the Democratic Party to the Republican Party: Carl Vrooman, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture under Wilson, Vance McCormick, former Democratic National Chairman, Henry C. Breckenridge, Assistant Secretary of War under Wilson, Senators Simmons of North Carolina and Heflin of Alabama. These are only a few amongst the pace-setters of the mugwumps. Here we have further evidence of the growing disintegration of the two-party system.

Since the Civil War, the great bulk of the Negro votes, insofar as they have been counted, have been tallied for the Republican Party. Of course, in the south practically no Negro votes are counted. The most ruthless terroristic means are employed to intimidate the Negro masses and to disfranchise them. In certain sections of Mississippi, cannons have been fired on election day as reminders to the Negroes as to what would happen to them if they dared go to the polling places. But this year an extraordinary increase of voters amongst the Negroes is to be noted for the Democratic Party. The traditional hold of the Republican Party on the Negro masses has been weakened considerably. The great migration of the Negro masses to the industrial centers of the north is serving as a force to undermine the old and temporarily to foster new illusions. Thus so influential a Negro paper as *The Chicago Defender*, came out four-square for Smith's election.

Is the Democratic Party dead? Far from it. Mr. Smith had about fifteen million votes. Fifteen million votes are not to be sneezed at in American politics. It is the biggest vote a defeated American presidential candidate ever got. If these votes had been distributed a little differently in certain states, Mr. Smith would have come very close to being elected. Davis, his predecessor on the Democratic ticket, polled the smallest percentage of popular votes of any Democratic candidate since the Civil War. But even taking into account the absolute increase in the number of voters this year from 1924, the tremendous increase in the popular vote for Smith means that the Democratic Party has in the last four years gained considerable support.

This election also sheds some welcome light on the fakery of American democracy. Smith received about fifteen million votes, but in the Electoral College which really counts in the election of the president, he has only 87 against 440 votes. All of which goes to show that the American bourgeoisie has many checks and balances and numerous barriers against the so-called "will of the people."

For the first time in the history of the country, both major capitalist parties nominated their candidates in their party conventions on the first ballot. The republicans for the first time in the history of their party selected a vice-president from a state west of the

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Mississippi. The democrats for the first time in many decades selected a vice-presidential candidate from a state below the Mason-Dixon line. For the first time since the Civil War, the Democratic Party found it necessary to wage a campaign in the south.

Finally, this election showed the greatest participation of the government, of the whole state appartus itself, in the campaign. We have heard a lot about bigotry as an issue by the democrats. However, Smith was using bigotry just as much as Hoover. There is no place on earth where there is more bigotry than in the south and particularly in those southern states which Smith carried. Arkansas, which has just voted to ban the teaching of evolution, voted for the "liberal" candidate Al Smith. Protestants, Baptists, Congregationalists, and other bible-pounders are all as bigoted as the Catholics. Only the superficial observer can see differences among them in this respect. Religious superstition is an organic part of the capitalist state organization used against the workers. This year the contest for power in the camp of the bourgeoisie was so sharp, and their differences on issues so slight, that it became necessary to resort more than previously to the fake issue of bigotry vs. tolerance, bringing into play more than in any previous campaign, those agencies of the capitalist state, the churches and religious societies.

Another side of this same picture. How is it that Hoover carried Florida, the southernmost state? Florida was carried largely because the Republican Party gave away so much patronage, particularly to some of the new voters who had moved from the industrial north into Florida in the recent land boom. There were so many job-holders there, that the Republican Party had a real machine built up which could challenge and crack the age-worn democratic machine.

SOME SIGNIFICANT RESULTS

1. *A Sweeping Victory for Finance Capital.* The election was a sweeping victory for finance capital. So authoritative an organ of the biggest financial interests as the *Forbes Magazine*, frankly proclaimed: "*Finance is satisfied that the republican administration will be continued*—and is satisfied, moreover, that it will be continued in a way not injurious to business."

Listen to this frank boasting by that energetic organ of finance capital, the *Magazine of Wall Street* (Nov. 17, 1928, p. 101), in its comment on the Hoover victory:

> "*Hoover will be the first president of all parties and all sections since Monroe. For the first time since the Civil War, a nominee of the Republican Party has shattered the Solid South. The sweep through Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina, Florida and Texas is far more than a dramatic episode of a great contest; it is symbolic of the advent of a new age. The mighty republic has found and chosen a leader who reflects the unity of the national spirit and the*

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national thought. . . There is nothing like it elsewhere in the world."

American imperialism is approaching its Victorian day. Thus the same investors' mouthpiece goes on to say proudly: "As Rome had its Augustinian age and Britain its Victorian age, so we are about to enter upon an epoch of affluence and magnificence, of peace and prosperity, that history may well record as the Hooverian age." Translate "we" into Wall Street and the truth is here.

Never before were the big bourgeois parties in such close agreement in the fundamental economic issues. Never before did so large a proportion of the electorate vote for the big bourgeois parties. Nineteen twenty-four had its petit-bourgeois LaFollette vote of five million, as against both big bourgeois parties. The Wilson of 1912 was not the Wilson of 1918. The Socialist Party of fifteen years ago was very different than it is today. With Debs as its leader it polled a million votes in opposition to the big bourgeois parties. Nineteen twenty-eight registered the smallest total vote, in years, of the electorate for the parties that were either frankly revolutionary, like the Workers (Communist) Party, or did not boast loudly about their petit-bourgeois character, like the Socialist Party. The coming cabinet will reflect this domination of finance capital beyond a shadow of a doubt. Dwight W. Morrow, a partner of J. P. Morgan, will probably be Secretary of State; "Blackjack" John J. Pershing, one of the most vicious enemies of the working class, will probably be Secretary of War, the notorious Mellon may continue as guardian of the finances, even a powerful ultra-reactionary southern manufacturer may be Secretary of Commerce.

2. *The Birth of a New South.* The solid south is cracked wide open. The solid south today is vastly different from what it was only a decade ago. It is true, cotton is still king in the south. But the most modern textile factories, the most up-to-date steel plants, the richest coal pits, splendid iron fields, some of the most magnificently developed water-power resources, are to be found in the south. Natural resources of every description are being exploited intensely. The country is being rapidly industrialized. Estimating this situation, the influential southern bi-weekly, the *Manufacturers' Record* (Nov. 15, 1928, p. 65) says:

> "Viewed purely from the material standpoint, the breaking of the solid south politically in the present election campaign, will be of enormous value to this section. *It will give increased confidence to the business people of other sections of the country, for the very solidarity of the south in politics, has to some extent retarded southern development, great as it has been. This development can be and will be, far greater than in the past.*"

The solid south before the election of 1896, consisted of fourteen

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states. The solid south became smaller and less "solid" as wider areas were industrialized. Maryland and Kentucky deserted Bryan in 1896. It was reduced to twelve states by 1904. Then Missouri went to Roosevelt. Only eleven states were left. But in 1920 Harding "smiled" at Tennessee and the solid south shrank further. More industrialization, at an accelerated pace. In 1924, Coolidge kept up the pace in the southern cities. Of the eleven states in the solid south on the eve of the 1928 election, Hoover carried five and Smith six. Did this happen because Smith is a Catholic? That helped somewhat. But this fact was only a weapon in the hands of the big bourgeoisie developing in the south, whose interests are now more and more at one with the interests of the big bourgeoisie controlling the north. The textile barons of New England are investing capital in the rapidly developing textile industry of the south.

I have said that Smith represents the domination of finance capital in the Democratic Party. At the same time I indicated that the finance capitalists of the south are today against Smith. What is the explanation of this apparent contradiction? First of all, the south does not yet have *its own* finance capitalists, as an independent group. The capitalists of the south are still largely the by-products of the most powerful capitalists of the north who dominate the Republican Party. The religious and prohibition issues also played havoc in ruining support for Smith amongst the southern business men.

Then we have still another complicating factor. As capitalism develops in the south, it brings on a certain new kind of tyranny against the workers. These workers become more and more discontented. They then begin to be "agin the government." And to be "agin the government" in the south is to be against the Democratic Party, which has been the undisputed ruling party on a state scale. So those very workers, in order to express their discontent with new big capitalist rule were voting in this election for the party of the new, wealthy, industrial and financial bosses responsible for the new oppression. Thus, the Democratic Party lost on the right and on the left. The solid south was cracked.

No one can overestimate the importance of the industrialization of the south for the United States. It means, for instance, a further tremendous proletarianization of hitherto rural and semi-rural masses. It means a further proletarianization of additional great masses of the Negroes.

3. *Rebuilding the Democratic Party.* What is the future of the Democratic Party? Since 1924 there has been much confusion and little cohesion. At the Houston convention, there was still much confusion in its midst. On the first ballot, the democrats had no clear platform. Walter Lippmann, in the *Yale Review* for October, has correctly said:

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> "What he (Smith) received at Houston was the leadership of two warring factions bound together by no common ideas. It has been and is his task to recreate the Democratic Party. That task will not end on election day in November. Win or lose, this campaign is only the beginning of the long and difficult task of restoring the vitality of the two-party system by remaking the Democratic Party."

This confusion in the Democratic Party was reflected in its campaign strategy. The democrats appointed Raskob and Young to run their campaign. But toward the end, they saw that it was hard sledding to lure Wall Street away from the Republican Party; so the Democratic Party, in the closing days of the election, became more "popular" and more "liberal." At the beginning of the campaign, Smith was talking like an arch reactionary; at the end, like a fake petit-bourgeois progressive. He thought he had already won the reaction and could pick up the so-called progressives on the way.

But there has been developing in the Democratic Party a new situation and a new leadership. This party is being reborn. The plantation owner of the south, as leader of the Democratic Party, is through. Bryan, as a "liberal," as a "progressive," challenged that leadership, and failed. Wilson's first regime was an expression of the last gasp of American liberalism finally working in the harness of the biggest bourgeoisie of the east.

Today, there is developing in the Democratic Party a leadership "just as good" from Wall Street's viewpoint, as the Republican Party leadership. Let me call upon Mayor Walker of New York City, to testify to this fact in an address he delivered on the Sesquicentennial Celebration of the American Declaration of Independence in Philadelphia:

> "If Bill Vare, Fred Kendrick, and Charlie Hall (notorious local Republican politicians—J. L.), lived in New York, they'd be Tammany leaders, and if John McCooey, Judge Olvaney and Jim Egan (Tammany leaders—J. L.), lived in Philadelphia, they'd be making up the Republican slate. We're all God's children and I don't believe in taking party politics too seriously."

This is the new Tammany,—purified. This is the new leadership of the Democratic Party. Never before were there so many big businessmen on the side of the Democratic candidate as in 1928. Never before did the Democratic Party have such a big treasury. Never before did the Democratic Party have such large support from Wall Street. That is why the Democratic campaign book boasted that "*this most liberal governor has nevertheless the confidence of big conservative businessmen—a confidence such as they seldom give to anybody except their own associates and political servants.*"

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The votes cast for Smith were therefore not votes cast against the reactionary capitalist party, but for a reactionary capitalist party trying its damndest to be at once ultra-reactionary and at the same time, pretending to be liberal. The votes cast for Governor Smith are therefore not an index of the radicalization of the masses, as some would say, but are an index of the still great political backwardness of the American working masses and of the still continuing domination of the industries and life of the country by reactionary finance capital.

The Democratic Party is not in very good shape today. But the Democratic Party has a future in capitalist society. It will be reorganized completely. It may not win the next election, but it has vitality. It polled about forty per cent of the total popular vote. It obtained a great proportion of the La Follette vote—especially in the industrial centers. Seventy-five per cent of its strength is today outside of the hitherto solid south. And Smith is not through. Of course, it is possible that the newly elected Governor of New York, Franklin D. Roosevelt, may come forward as the leader of the Democratic Party.

4. *Paralyzing the "Progressive" Coterie.* The poor "progressives" got nowhere in this campaign—rather, they lost ground, through the division of their support between the two reactionary candidates. Their role in Congress as a bloc holding the balance of power, has been destroyed. The republican representation in the House is the biggest that either party has had since 1855, except in the sixty-third Congress, when the democrats had two hundred and ninety and in the sixty-seventh Congress, when the republicans had three hundred.

Likewise, the American Federation of Labor bureaucracy was in a very unfortunate position this year. "Business" was so bad for them, that they couldn't even sell their endorsement to either big bourgeois party.

The Socialist Party lost a considerable number of votes, particularly in the working-class districts. Debs, symbol of what was once revolutionary in the Socialist Party, was taboo in the Socialist Party campaign literature and agitation. Thus the socialist candidate for United States Senator in New York, McAllister Coleman, betrays his party's real attitude towards the Coolidge government and the whole ruling class:

> "Brigadier-General William E. Gillmore, head of the Material Division of the United States Air Corps, in charge of the Wright Field, has already written his name large in American flying history. He is served by a group of alert-minded young airmen who make ridiculous the talk of 'bureaucracy' in our government affairs. I defy anyone to go through the plant at Dayton, without acquiring

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> a tremendous respect for the clean-cut job that our government is doing there. . . Someone asked about the possibility of organizing the workers in this latest of our industries, into trade unions. Enthusiastic as I happen to be for unionism, I must admit that the chances for organizing these workers are remote at the present. In most of the factories that I have visited, the rate of pay is higher than that which union men were receiving. . . And I don't know whether you can find a more appealing group of American industrialists than these pioneering men and women who give wings to America."

A whole-hearted endorsement of imperialist preparedness! A slap in the face at the efforts to organize the workers! An enthusiastic commendation of the strike-breaking machinery of the government!

This is American "socialism" in practice! If one reads any of the typical endorsements given to the Socialist Party by its dominant following, the *non-working class elements*, he will find that such endorsements are given strictly on the basis of the Socialist Party having repudiated Marxian "dogma and theology." Says Professor Douglas:

> "Many liberals have in the past been deterred from supporting it (the Socialist Party) because in so doing they were required to support a dogmatic Marxism, which, so far as the labor theory of value was concerned, had no more to do with the basic principles of socialism than the tenets of the fundamentalists have with the message of Christianity. *The present platform, however, wisely dispenses with all this economic theology and bases its program solely upon realities.* It calls not only for the public ownership of power, as does Governor Smith, but also for its distribution by the public, which Smith does not advocate, and the absence of which would largely prevent the economies of the super-power system from penetrating to the ultimate consumer."

Of course, it is not theology and dogma that the petit-bourgeoisie are really against. It is scientific revolutionary socialism, *Marxism;* it is *Leninism* that these petit-bourgeois liberals dread and despise. That's why the "liberals" love the Socialist Party and hate the Workers (Communist) Party.

5. *The Growth of the Communist Party.* This year the Workers (Communist) Party waged its first national presidential election campaign. In 1924, we were on the ballot in only fourteen states. This year, the Party succeeded in overcoming terrific capitalist legal and technical obstacles and in placing its candidates on the ballot in thirty-four states.

Never before did there appear in an election campaign in the United States a party so openly revolutionary, so thoroughly communist. Our 1924 election platform was in certain respects oppor-

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tunism in its crassest form, compared with the platform upon which the American communists fought their campaign in this election.

And the reaction of the bourgeoisie showed this. Our meetings were broken up. Our speakers were arrested. The radio and the press, which played so prominent and decisive a role in the campaign of the Republican, Democratic and Socialist Parties, were, practically speaking, completely closed to us. We drew special fire from the capitalist reaction through our emphasis on complete social and political equality for the Negro masses. We aroused the particular ire of the capitalists through laying the greatest emphasis on the rising war danger.

The penetration of the solid south, though it was on a small scale, marks a new period in the life of our Party. Not only in the all-important task of winning the Negro masses for communism, but in the increasing significance that our work in the south must assume in view of its recent rapid industrialization.

The total communist vote is not yet available. It is already clear, however, that its increase will be several times the size of 1924. This is true, especially, for the most industrial sections of the country, like the iron and copper range in the central northwest, the soft-coal fields of Pennsylvania, Ohio and West Virginia and the hard-coal fields of eastern Pennsylvania, in Detroit, for instance, the greatest automobile center of the world, and in the solid south.

Yet it must be established that considering the tremendous activities our Party has engaged in within the last year, our vote does not apparently reflect our influence. Witness the big mass movements which the communists led in the heroic struggle of twenty-five thousand textile workers in New Bedford, of scores of thousands of coal miners in the central competitive fields, of many thousands of needle-trades workers in New York. It is not enough to say that the workers are ready to accept our leadership in strike struggles, but are not yet ready to accept our leadership in an election campaign. A fundamental examination of the Party's working and organization methods is necessary to disclose the more decisive reasons for the Party's not having as yet been able to capitalize all its influence in election campaigns.

6. *Tremendous Impetus Given Rationalization.* The election of Hoover, insofar as it means a still further merging of the apparatus of the governmental machinery with that of big business interests, will serve as an impetus to still more terrific rationalization in American capitalism. In his letter to Mr. Richard H. Edmonds, editor of the *Manufacturers' Record*, on the morning after he was elected president, Mr. Hoover spoke of "the great potentialities of

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that section (the south). With one-third of the nation's land area, with about three-fifths of its sea frontage, with vast resources in soil, climate and minerals. . . . There are great water powers awaiting development. . . . There are great potentialities in the extension of the intercoastal canal system, etc. . . ."

The *Magazine of Wall Street* (Nov. 17, 1928) brings this home to us very clearly when it says:

> "We must also expect some monumental undertakings in the way of national highways, perhaps one or two transcontinental highways that will surpass anything in the way of magnificent road building by the Caesars and Napoleon. The merchant marine is due for restoration, although not by governmental building, and air transport will be fostered. Public buildings will be reared throughout the country. Not less than a billion dollars will be spent on public works in the next four years. . . The improvement of manufacturing and distribution presages the elimination of waste, the augmentation of efficiency, refinement of product—all of which have made such vast strides since Hoover undertook the leadership in those directions—will be further encouraged by the Hoover administration. . ."

Special effort will also be made to intensify the rate of rationalization in such industries as textile, oil, copper and coal, which have been in a critical condition for some time.

FURTHER MERGING OF GOVERNMENT WITH BIG BUSINESS

Hoover will push forward the most intense cooperation between government and big business. In the eyes of the dominant forces in Wall Street, "Coolidge has been a conservator of business" and "Hoover will be a builder of business." Hoover will utilize his position aggressively to mould and direct the vast machine of the federal government as an agency for developing business.

7. *Increasing Imperialist Aggression.* But the most outstanding result of the election campaign is to be noted in the fact that the government is redoubling its effort and is increasing fivefold its pace of preparation for war. What else is the meaning of Hoover's "vacation" in Latin America? He is going to visit nine countries. He is going as a "messenger of peace" on the biggest battleship in the American navy. Hoover, a dove of peace, perching on the turrets of the battleship Maryland!

What is the meaning of this "gracious pilgrimage of friendship and good will"? The United States has a total commerce of about two billion dollars annually and an investment of about five billion dollars, in Latin America. *Hoover will appear as a salesman, a drummer, a booster of the products of American imperialism—*

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ideological as well as material. This policy is very clearly stated by the *Magazine of Wall Street* (Nov. 17, 1928):

> "The whole power of the government will be put behind the expansion of foreign trade. As Secretary of Commerce, Hoover has built up the greatest governmental organization for the promotion of foreign trade that any nation has ever had. With presidential initiative in his hands, it may be confidently expected that our foreign traders will find the government more than ever the leader in opening channels for American goods the world over."

Besides, in 1931, there will be another conference on the limitation of naval armaments in Washington. This is a continuation of the one Harding gave birth to in 1921. At this forthcoming conference there will be the sharpest clash between Great Britain and the United States over naval supremacy, over the mastery of the sea lanes.

If the Kellogg pact is to serve American imperialism as an instrument of imperialist aggression, adherence must be won for it in Latin America, where it has none today. Hoover's task will be to "sell" the Kellogg pact to the Latin-American countries. The League of Nations and British influence will have to be minimized; the Monroe Doctrine and American influence will have to be enhanced through the acceptance of the Kellogg pact. Hoover will engineer the job successfully, in all probability. Lloyd George has already well said: "*I am alarmed about the situation. The nations are sharpening their knives on the very stones of the Temple of Peace.*"

Nowadays, wars are increasingly wars of machinery and raw materials. The growing resistance to American imperialism in Latin America must be smashed to pave the way for further enslavement. We all know of the "Big Stick" policy of Roosevelt. When Hoover goes down for "peace and friendship," he is going down for exploitation and war. Wall Street is already thinking of active mobilization of all its resources against Latin America and against Europe. In Europe, it is meeting stronger and stronger competition. The screws must therefore be tightened in Latin America.

This brazen and monumental gall of the American imperialists, shown in the Hoover trip to Latin America, comes to a head in Coolidge's Armistice Day declaration, which was a threat and a sharp warning to the imperialist competitors of the United States. With lightning rapidity followed the declaration of policy of the United States Naval Board, and Baldwin's shrinking before the champion of Wall Street. Lord Allenby, speaking before the West Point Cadets, declared: "If America and Great Britain stand next to each other, no one in the world can touch them."

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But what the Lord conqueror of Jerusalem forgot to say is, that America and Great Britain are "touching" each other, and here is where the conflict is sharpest. The present situation marks a new turn, a very sharp turn in the agressive role of American imperialism. This is of world-wide significance.

8. *Bitter Attacks Against the Workers.* The big victory of finance capital cannot but translate itself into sharpening attacks against the workers. Rationalization of the coal industry means further oppression and further intense exploitation of the miners. Efficiency and speed-up methods in the textile industry will mean a harvest of worsened conditions for the textile workers. The further merging of the government apparatus with the big business apparatus can only mean a more frequent and more outrageous strike-breaking role to be played by the government throughout all its subdivisions. The huge vote given the big capitalist parties will be interpreted by the bourgeoisie as a mandate for sharpening their attack on the workers' living standards, conditions of work and rights along the whole front. In the name of efficiency, in the name of economic progress, in the name of the abolition of poverty, unions will be smashed, "injunction democracy" will be increased, the workers' rights will be trampled upon without the slightest hesitation.

PERSPECTIVES FOR THE STRUGGLE

But let no one fail to view this picture dynamically. *There are numerous deep contradictions fraught with mortal consequences for American capitalism, growing out of its very strength, its very imperialist prowess of today. By utilizing and exploiting every opportunity afforded by these contradictions of American imperialism, our Party can enhance its influence, develop itself into a mass Communist Party,—the leader of the working class.*

The victory for finance capital means of course, more aggressive imperialist foreign policy. Intensified competition of American with European imperialist powers, means greater aggrandisement by the Yankee imperialists in their drive for world supremacy. This will be resisted by the other imperialist powers. Thus the *very strength of American imperialism generates contradictions, conflicts and antagonisms in the bourgeois world.*

The conflicts resulting from these outer contradictions can only serve to sharpen the class war at home, intensifying the inner contradictions of American imperialism. *Sharper attacks against the workers at home mean, sooner rather than later, increasing mass resistance by the workers to the onslaught of the capitalists.*

But, as the masses move forward in their resistance to the bourgeoisie, the official trade-union bureaucracy will move still further

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to the right and become an integral part, even more than heretofore, of the whole imperialist edifice. Note what transpired in the last convention of the American Federation of Labor. Examine the increasing friendship of the A. F. of L. for the fascist American Legion and its program of conscription of every worker for the impending imperialist war. Witness the whole-hearted endorsement given the big navy bill by the A. F. of L. metal trades department. In this process also, the Socialist Party is being rapidly shoved aside as a party even of the faintest pretenses of working-class character.

Herein lie splendid opportunities for our Party, for becoming a mass Communist Party, able to crush American imperialism which today appears to the superficial observer so invincible.

In the resistance to imperialist aggression, nothing can be expected from the petit-bourgeoisie. So eloquent a petit-bourgeois spokesman as Borah, has gone over lock, stock and barrel to the big bourgeoisie. Witness his endorsement of the big navy program of the General Naval Board.

The industrialization of the south, the further proletarianization of the Negro masses, the further expropriation of the farmers and of the rural masses, as a whole, and their further proletarianization, will serve to create a bigger and more class-conscious proletariat, developing new fields for struggle. Our Party must be wide awake to these significant deep-going changes. *We must not only respond but must aggressively lead.*

The outlook for a cataclysmic clash between imperialist powers—between the United States and Great Britain, or the serious danger of an attack by a group of imperialist powers against the Soviet Union, is ever more menacing. *American imperialism is still powerful but in this very heyday of its prowess, it is developing the germs of its own destruction. Sharpening class struggles are in sight. Increasing opportunities for development of our Communist Party into a mass Bolshevik party are at hand.*

The 1928 election campaign has taught us many valuable lessons. Our active participation in it has been of real value in our untiring effort to establish the Communist Party as the leader of the American working class.

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The Political Outlook for the Workers (Communist) Party

By SCOTT NEARING

(NOTE: The article below is printed as discussion material. It is widely at variance with the viewpoint of the Party on a whole series of questions. It was the intention of THE COMMUNIST to publish an answer in this issue, but the answer was not received in time for publication. It will, therefore, appear in the next issue. The Party viewpoint on the election campaign is expressed in this issue by the article of Jay Lovestone, which indirectly constitutes an answer to the article of Nearing.—EDITOR.)

The Workers (Communist) Party made a limited political campaign in 1924, covering fourteen states. In June, 1928, the Party called a National Nominating Convention and launched a political campaign which placed its candidates on the ballot in 34 states. The Party vote in 1924 was about 34,000. The vote in 1928 will probably be more than double that amount, but even at 100,000 the Party would have secured less than one-third of one per cent of the total vote cast in the 1928 election.

The campaign itself was a significant political experience.

Bourgeois resistance to the Workers (Communist) Party constantly increased as the campaign progressed until by October 15th a point had been reached at which the campaign had become a free-speech fight in at least half a dozen states. Even where the Party was on the ballot, leading Party representatives were persecuted, driven from town, jailed. The big business interests of Ohio, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, California, etc., were determined that the Party should not bring its message to the working masses.

This stiffened bourgeois resistance showed itself also in the closing of the press and radio to Workers (Communist) Party spokesmen. Republican and democratic candidates were given an unprecedented amount of space. Socialist Party candidates shared in the publicity. Only the Workers (Communist) Party representatives were denied those publicity channels through which the American masses can best be reached in a political campaign.

The Workers (Communist) Party was therefore reduced to campaigning through political meetings and through the very limited clientele reached by the Daily Worker and the other party organs. Consequently the Party was unable to attract the attention

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of the masses. The old parties raised so much noise that the voice of the Workers Party could not be heard above the din.

Outside of New York, in the course of two months campaigning, I did not see more than two enthusiastic rallies, and both of them were in smaller industrial towns. The people who came to Party campaign meetings were for the most part apathetic, indifferent, inquisitive, fearful or hostile.

Failure to attract the masses during the election campaign carried with it inevitable failure to increase the party membership. Again with the exception of New York, so far as I was able to ascertain, the two months of campaigning did not bring any considerable increase in party members.

Generalizing: The Party consumed its energy and its means merely in conducting the campaign. It failed to reach the masses and it failed to record any notable membership increase.

The campaign of 1928 seems to have taught three lessons:

1. The American masses are not ideologically prepared for the program of the Workers (Communist) Party;

2. The ruling class in the United States is too well organized, too class conscious, too well equipped with police, sedition laws, etc., to permit effective campaigning by the communists;

3. There is no reason to suppose that the American masses can be reached by Workers (Communist) Party political propaganda in the immediate future. The Party cannot hope to function between 1928 and 1932 as a political mass force.

Still, the political situation in the United States is bristling with important possibilities:

1. The overwhelming defeat of the Democratic Party and its probable elimination as a force in national politics opens the way for an effective opposition party in the United States, including the more progressive elements, and forcing the more conservative elements into the Republican Party; or

2. The American big business interests after their 1928 political victory may establish under Herbert Hoover and his successors the substantial outlines of a fascist state and refuse to permit any further political opposition.

Accepting for the sake of argument the former of these two alternatives and assuming that there is a real possibility of creating from among the mass of dissatisfied farmers, oppressed Negroes, exploited wage earners and dispossessed petit-bourgeois elements, the fabric of a Farmer-Labor Party, is it possible for the Workers (Communist) Party to participate in such a movement and in a degree to determine its ideology and direct its line of activity?

What will be the ideology of such a party? Unless there is a considerable shift in public sentiment its program cannot go much

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further than the reforms advocated by Governor Smith in the course of the recent political campaign. With such a program it is evidently possible to enthuse the masses. To the left of such a program the masses are not prepared to follow, even in territory like the soft coal regions which have just experienced severe class struggles. No matter who builds this new opposition party, its appeal must be made to the more exploited elements of the United States population.

Will the advantages of such a movement justify it from the communist point of view? Politically, such a movement would be justified even if it did nothing more than to crystallize big business interests definitely in the Republican Party and to place mass farmer-labor interests clearly in opposition to republican big business.

Will the advantages of such a movement justify it from the communist) Party and such a farmer-labor opposition party?

1. The Workers (Communist) Party might hold aloof and denounce the movement. From one point of view it has good reason for such a stand. Experience both here and abroad makes it certain that such a party once organized, will support the basic policies of capitalist imperialism and will oppose communists and communism.

On the other hand, if the masses of workers and farmers can be politically split away and placed in political opposition to republican big business, the first step will have been taken in the direction of class-conscious mass action in the United States. Such a movement will be a valuable rallying point for workers and farmers whose class consciousness is as yet only rudimentary.

2. The Workers (Communist) Party might enter such an opposition openly. But this would involve:

a. The abandonment of revolutionary activities and tactics,—that is, the Workers (Communist) Party would cease to be a Communist Party, or else,

b. The alienation of those mass elements that are not yet prepared, ideologically, to accept the implications of class struggle. In other words, open participation by a revolutionary party is for the moment, politically impossible.

3. If the Workers (Communist) Party cannot afford to let this opposition movement go by default and if it cannot offcially participate in its organization and activity, but one possibility remains: The Workers (Communist) Party must send its members into the new organization, without any hope of "controlling" or "capturing" but for the purpose of directing left-wing policy and tactics in the new party. Probably it will be impossible for known communists to take any part in the work of the new opposition party, even as individuals. In that case they must work from cover.

If the Workers (Communist) Party decides to follow this third line of policy the pick and shovel work must begin forthwith:

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1. In the municipal campaigns of November, 1929, labor candidates can be run in a number of cities and in farming and industrial districts which seem to offer some opportunity for political success. The localities should be strategically located from the standpoint of class interest in various parts of the United States.

2. Where strength is shown, state candidates can be nominated in the election campaign of 1930. Gubernatorial and Congressional elections will then be held.

3. Again in the off year, 1931, municipal and local campaigns can be waged in territory not already penetrated by the new farmer-labor movement.

4. Granted a reasonable degree of success in the conduct of this program by the Spring of 1932, it should be possible to call a National Convention and nominate a presidential candidate.

Thus far the policy looks simple enough, but:

1. Shall the Workers (Communist) Party having adopted such a policy, run a separate ticket against the new Farmer-Labor Party?

2. If it runs a separate ticket, shall it denounce the new Farmer-Labor Party, or concentrate its attack on the republicans and on the constructive phases of its own program?

3. Will it be possible, by refraining from nominating opposition candidates in certain strategic centers to throw communist support to the new Farmer-Labor Party?

The political campaigns of the years 1928-1932 will be fought, if they are fought at all, between the Republican Party on the one hand, and on the other by an opposition party which may be organized by the farmers and workers. In case this opposition movement does crystallize the protest of the exploited masses, the Workers (Communist) Party may by careful planning, play a role in directing its outlook and drafting its program.

The political energy of the Workers (Communist) Party, during these four years, must not be consumed in the farmer-labor movement, however, but must be devoted to the continuance of revolutionary political organization and agitation along the lines followed in the recent campaign. More local organizers are needed and more local activity is indispensable if the Party is to succeed.

At the same time, there is no reason to indulge in Utopian dreams. The most that the Workers (Communist) Party can hope for, during the coming four years is steady increase in membership and a broadening of sympathetic support in that small minority of the American farmer-worker masses who are already conscious of the class nature of American society.

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WAITING FOR THE CROP

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The Factory Farm

A Discussion Article on the Party and the Farm Problem

By "HARROW"

Rapid changes are taking place among the agricultural masses throughout the United States. The Party must have a more adequate agrarian program. The changes among the rural masses today are accelerated and made more acute because industrial evolution with all its capitalistic ramifications is at last confronted with the necessity to participate in *production* on the farm.

The traditional small family farm-land unit is giving way. American agriculture must soon be organized and capitalized as other industries have been developed; in short, the factory farm must very rapidly replace the family farm as the typical unit of American agriculture.

As an economist has said, "American industry has not yet learned to do without raw products and food." We can at least agree to that, and figure by what possible channels will the dominant industrial interests of the nation secure their raw products and food. Thus:

1. Industry may continue to get them from the *family farm.* (If you believe this you must show how this form of family farming production can persist.)

2. Industry may get its food and raw products by allowing American agriculture to pass out with ever decreasing production, increasing imports until the United States becomes entirely dependent upon *foreign farming.*

3. Industry may gradually absorb and re-allocate the land, organizing agriculture as a secondary part of its manufacturing plant. In other words, go in for *factory farming.*

Whether we think the future of farming means family, foreign, or factory farming, we must study and be able to anticipate the development. The tactics of party workers among the 27 million population on family farms would obviously differ according to the source from which American industry will aim to secure its food and raw products.

Whichever direction American farming takes, whether it dies or develops along industrial lines, it holds a serious menace to American capitalism. To ignore conditions on the farms, allowing them to get worse, means increasing migrations to swell the grow-

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ing ranks of the unemployed. It means worse than loss of the petit-bourgeois elements for they will increase in militancy in the agrarian states against the industrial groups. To industrialize agriculture gradually will cause isolated local upheavals wherever land is actually taken by foreclosures. While less general in its effects, it also means the eventual loss of the petit-bourgeois class, so important as a buffer.

Magnus W. Alexander, President of the National Industrial Conference Board, speaking of *Economic Maladjustments* in his annual report, says: ". . . . . There is also the important social question involved in the fact that the farm, the heretofore great breeding place of independent, resourceful and healthy citizenship, is losing ground to the cities, and that the farmer is rapidly being turned into a factory, mill or store worker. . . . ."

It is my conviction that the farm question constitutes one of American imperialism's weak spots; that it is inescapably bound up with the entire financial and industrial structure, and that the ever accelerating plunge of the small farm toward bankruptcy creates signal opportunities and demands of leadership upon the Party. The prevalent attitude of party members, however, is one of facetious ignorance. We either describe agrarian work as "fighting capitalism with potatoes," or pat the white elephant on the head with some borrowed phrases from the first C. I. thesis, or as was done at the last convention, pass by this whole question with twelve or thirteen words.

Lenin found time in the press of his immediate work to write a pamphlet analyzing the *Development of Capitalism in American Agriculture*. From that point on the Party should study the question and formulate a basic program. Until that is done it will be impossible to recruit party members for work in this field or create any effective contacts with farmers or farm organizations.

I am, unfortunately, not qualified to analyze recent developments as a Marxian student. The only virtue, if any, that my observations may have resides in the fact that I have studied the problem from the technical side and know that industrial agriculture is not only possible, but is already being proved both practicable and profitable in the United States.

THE BASIC FACTS

The following are the propositions which I believe can be proved and should form the basis for our agrarian program:

1. ***The family farm has already reached the point of bankruptcy*** as the unit of production in American agriculture and will rapidly give place to industrial agriculture.

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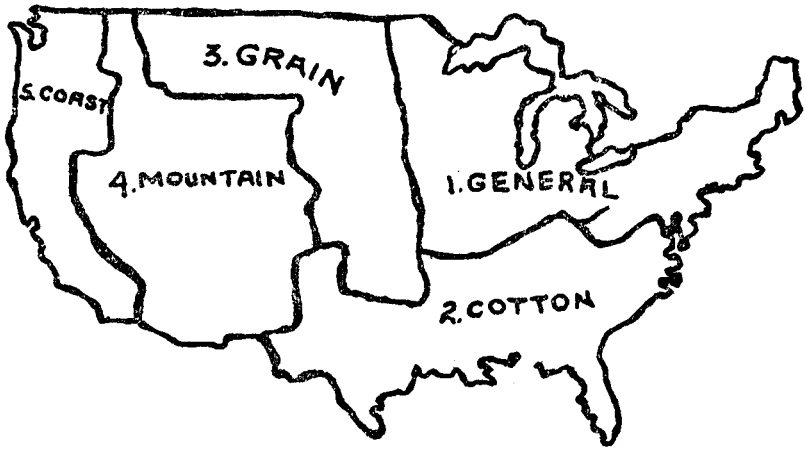
2. *American capitalism is preparing to reorganize agriculture* along industrial factory farm lines, and will adopt a policy of domestic production of staple foods and raw products required by its commerce and industry.

3. *Reorganization of agriculture will proceed along different lines* and at different rates in the five general agricultural regions of the United States as indicated in the following map:



GENERAL AGRICULTURAL REGIONS OF U.S.

I will now sketch briefly the facts supporting these points.

FAMILY FARM BANKRUPTCY

The family farm is bankrupt because it has become an inefficient production unit. Farm costs have been continuously above the world or social prices of food stuffs. The family farm has continued to survive because it did not have to count the costs so long as it had subsidies to make up these losses. *Free land was its first subsidy.* In the early history of the United States land was merely a means to labor. The farm was a way of living. The farm family was unpaid but self-supporting, making its own food, clothing and shelter. *But the evolution of American industry took away the loom, the last, and all other crafts.* The farmer then produced food and other products for sale. The farm became a business. By 1910 the last of the free land was gone. Land values rose rapidly. *These new watered speculative values of land became another subsidy for the farmer. Land became "capital."* The farmer continued to sell at a production loss, but by selling off some of his land and at last by mortgaging the rest, he continued in business. Later he began to struggle to get more for

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what he was selling to industry, and from 1915 to 1925 doubled his cooperative market associations. But the latter was a futile gesture, for in the same period his mortgage debt also doubled. Why? Because during this period the index of his costs mounted to 168 and his prices failed to keep up, increasing only to 143.[1]

As land became capital it began to pass into the hands of the financial interests and to function more and more as an item in the *costs* of production.[2] Jardine, Secretary of Agriculture, recently estimated the mortgage debt for 1926 at $9,500,000,000. (*Report on Condition of Agriculture in the United States*, Business Men's Commission on Agriculture.)

The $8,000,000,000 mortgages in 1921, according to the Farm Mortgage Bankers Association were distributed as follows:

> Federal Land Banks—5%; Insurance Companies—15%; Joint Stock Land Banks—1%; Farm Loan Companies—40%; Local Investors—23%; State and National Banks—16%.

In addition to mortgage, short-term loans to farmers must be considered. There are 30,178 banks. Of these 13,540 reported.[3] 10,261 of this number reported farm loans to the extent of $1,586,500,000. On the basis of these figures it is estimated that the total for all banks is $3,870,000,000, (or 13.29% of the short term loans and discounts of the banks).

Merchants' loans to farmers are also significant. "Rates of interest in 'liens' on the cotton crop of southern tenants probably average 40% annually."[4]

If we use the census definition of "farmer," all this means that *absentee land ownership has become a dominant factor. Taking tenants, managers, and part owners we have* 3,058,150 *farmers, or* 47.9% *of the total*, operating land which does not belong to them. But if we include mortgaged owners who have relinquished 40% of their equity at present "values," and nearly 80% of the *production values* of the land, we find that 67.4% *of the farmers of the United States no longer own their basic means of production.*

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[1] *Index numbers given by Industrial Conference Board.*

[2]

	1920	*1925*
No. of farms—total	6,448,343	6,371,640
Full owners	3,366,510	3,313,490[1]
Part owners	558,580	554,842
Managers	68,449	40,700
Cash tenants	480,009	393,452
Crop or share tenants	1,974,795	2,069,156
Mortgage owners (36% of "full owners")		1,395,026

[3] *Bulletin 1048*, December 31st, 1920, Farm Mortgage Bankers Association.

[4] George K. Holmes in *U. S. Industrial Commission Report.*

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WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN FIVE YEARS?

An increase in mortgage debt and number of farms mortgaged; a decrease in the better-off cash tenants; an increase in poor tenants; a decrease in managed farms, but not in the proportion of improved land operated by managers.

Taking the farmers' total debts—mortgage, personal and trade, we have the startling estimate of 15 billion, which at 6% means an annual tribute of nine hundred million dollars to capitalism. We also find a decided decrease in the value of farm land and buildings. Thus the average value per acre in 1920 was $69.38, and in 1925, $53.52, and the total value was $66,316,002,602 in 1920 and $49,467,647,287 in 1925. Along with this decrease in farm values goes the decrease in value of crops and annual products not counting crops fed to animals, which in 1920 amounted to $14,811,000,000 and in 1925 to $13,034,000,000. Remember, too, that the purchasing power of the farm dollar in 1925 was only 60% of the 1909-14 average, and that even the shrinking 1925 values represent much "watered" value and do not reflect the actual producing value of the land. The 1910 values would be much more nearly correct, i. e., $34,801,125,697.

The Attorney General's office reports a steady increase in the number of cases of bankruptcies:

Farm Bankruptcy cases in the U. S.		Bankruptcy cases in New York	
1922	22,462	1922	2,076
1923	34,286	1923	3,128
1924	41,524	1924	3,633
1925	44,236	1925	5,376

In 1920 there were 21.1 farm bankruptcies to each 100,000 farms, and in 1924 there were 123.2. While farm bankruptcies increased, commercial failures decreased. An analysis of the locality of these cases shows that New York, California, Ohio, Alabama, Tennessee, Georgia, Virginia, Minnesota, Illinois, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts lead, with New York at the top of the list.

The average cost of farm labor from 1920-25 has slightly decreased, but payments for labor have steadily risen since 1850. The self-sufficient isolation of the days when the farm was the only means of income for the whole family is past history. Now the farm youth gets paid or leaves. The unorganized farm must compete with organized industry. The *Crops and Markets Supplement*, U. S. Department of Agriculture, July, 1925, shows that the average earned on net capital invested by all farm operators as reward for both management and use of capital was 3.6%, family labor being computed equal to hired labor. This 3.6% can be figured in two ways: as a capitalist the farmer gets half the bank rate; as a worker he gets the same as the unskilled laborer.

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The annual turnover of farm population resulting in a net loss to the farm is a significant factor affecting city unemployment. It is also the barometer indicating the rate at which the farmer's capital is being absorbed by losses in production. As hired labor became higher priced, machinery developed to replace it. But this increase in machinery has begun to add to costs. The law of diminishing returns has begun to apply, for the family farm is too small for the efficient use of machinery. Of the 6,371,640 farm units only 0.07%, or 55,873 are over 1,000 acres, and only 0.01%, or 7,455 are over 5,000 acres. 2,437,227 or 38% are under 50. Tractors are capable of working 2,000 hours per year on large areas, yet the average farmer uses his only 300 to 400 hours. There are 500,000 tractors on farms in the United States. Taking an average value of $600 per tractor, we find that $300,000,000 and 5 million horse power are being used at less than 20% of an efficient maximum.[5]

For a decade the capitalist economists and politicians, farm "doctors" and "leaders" have preached remedies for the small farm unit. We all remember the "Back to the Land" bunk. Then the great urge to produce two blades of grass or two pigs, or two bolls of cotton where only one grew before. Our agricultural colleges set out to show the farmer how to do this. But now you find the Department of Agriculture, economists, and politicians urging the opposite remedy, *i.e.*, "Reduce production to fit the demand at a high price." To quote a government publication: "Increased efficiency cannot have a favorable effect on the returns that farmers as a group will receive if production is increased so much that the advantage is lost through a decline in prices;" and then the writer goes on to show that big crops mean low prices and greater loss per unit than low crop yields. In other words our technical development has reached a stalemate on our scattered farming system of small land units.

It is generally suggested that we have too many farmers (one-third of the number could do the job); too much water in land

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[5](Index base 1899 = 100)

	Persons engaged		*Quantity of output*		*Output per person*		*Horse Power per person*	
	AGR.	INDUS.	AGR.	INDUS.	AGR.	INDUS.	AGR.	INDUS.
1899	100	100	100	100	100	100	2.2	1.9
1909	106½	145	113	159	106	110	2.7	2.4
1919	105	204	134	216	128	106	4.	2.7
1925	100	187	147	278	147	149	4.5	3.6

Since 1899 agriculture has increased its horse power per person engaged 113% and increased its output quantity 47%. Industry has increased its horse power per person engaged 93% and increased its quantity 178%. Persons employed in agriculture decreased by 5 points from 1919 to 1925, and persons employed in industry decreased by 17 points in that period.

Compiled from the *National Industrial Conference Board Bulletin*, December, 1927.

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values; too much invested in an excess of antiquated types of machinery. There is no organization and coordination of the work of farmers as producers; too much duplicated and wasted horse power per farm; too many sub-marginal acres used. There is absolutely no control of the distributive machinery. Low grade educational and social facilities and constant migration to cities are resulting in general deterioration of type of farm population.

This is the quicksand basis of family farming today. Stripped of its old subsidies it has begun to demand new subsidies from Congress; for example the equalization fee in the McNary-Haugen Bill which would really mean a subsidy to keep them going. Coolidge will have to veto that again, and the majority that sent the bill to him will not repass it. The family farm cannot reduce its costs to the world price level, set first by cheap labor and now by industrial farming with mass production methods. Without organization, due to its isolation, and surrounded by the keenest commercial and financial competition, the over-capitalized, under-sized production unit must take its place with the hand loom, the horse car and the tallow candle, in the museum.

REORGANIZATION OF AGRICULTURE BY AMERICAN CAPITAL

What evidence is there that capital will go into factory farming? I have not had time to go into the question of the dependence of American industry upon American farming as thoroughly as it must be done. Nevertheless, I shall attempt to show that this dependence exists, and that it is logical to foresee that foreign farming could not supply our national demand as efficiently and cheaply as American factory farms.

No data was accessible to show the investments of capital in all manufacturing plants, mills, etc. which are dependent upon raw products and foodstuffs from American farms, but it undoubtedly soars into billions. And one significant factor in relation to their future must be remembered, namely that these investments in manufacturing and storage plants are located along internal routes to receive the raw products as they flow from special farm areas in the United States. If industry were to become dependent on foreign farm products it would have to scrap millions of dollars in investment and build new plants nearer to the seaboard. In the case of meat packing, the largest part of its total investment of $1,200,000,000 is in the middle west because it is cheaper to ship finished meat products than cows. Just so, dairy products can be produced far away, but fresh milk must be produced nearer to the consuming centers, also fresh vegetables. As one reviews the subject, one is impressed with the fact that the raw products of agriculture which

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lend themselves to a long haul, and so to an import policy if we should adopt it, are the very products we cannot get from foreign farmers at as low costs as domestic industrial agriculture could produce them. Take cotton. We now produce 60% of the world's cotton crop. We export 70% of what the rest of the world imports. We consume one third of the total used by all importing countries. If we should stop production of cotton, and thus stop our exports, we would need the entire cotton export of all other producing countries. What would happen to world prices if we had to compete with the European, English and Japanese mills? Obviously, cotton represents a type of farming we cannot drop.

Our clothing manufacturers produce annually goods worth $2,370,000,000. They are naturally interested in American cotton and wool farming.

Or to make it more graphic. The last census showed that the total value of manufacturing products was $62,418,078,773. There were listed 16 industries which produced annually goods worth one billion dollars or more. Of the 16, nine were manufacturers of farm (not forest) products, and only seven made use of natural resources. The largest of all was the meat-packing business with more than $4,000,000,000. Iron and steel was a poor second with $2,800,000,000, and autos third with $2,400,000,000.

The total value of goods manufactured from farm products was $19,780,459,917, or 31.5% of the total. These industries employ 20% of the total persons engaged in manufacturing. With these figures in mind one can judge whether there will be an incentive on the part of large business enterprises dependent on raw products from farms to promote factory farming.

The railroads will also be interested. 15% of their business results from the movement of raw farm products. A southern railroad recently made inquiry as to the feasibility of organizing big farm units on its land holdings along its right of way. Finance capital may also be expected to have a stake in factory farming. Already farm debts are being estimated at 15 billions. This includes mortgages, second mortgages, notes, and other forms of paper which always fall into the bankers' hands. His security is "land and buildings." This is good security so long as there is a market for it as an investment. Farm failures, however, are restricting and in some cases eliminating markets for farm deeds. The banker can squeeze the water out of land values and still sell at his mortgage value and come out. But the small returns of farmers have been too well advertised. There aren't enough "suckers" to solve the bankers' entire 15 billion dollar problem that way. They have given up publication of the "Banker Farmer" magazine published to encourage the individual. Finance capital may be planning a navy bigger than Eng-

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land's to protect its imports and exports, but no policy is safer than home production of staples, foods and raw products controlled to fit domestic demands, with exports left entirely to the manufacturing interests.

A distinct change since 1920 is to be noted in the complexion of editorials and farm journalism generally. It is no longer sacrilege to discuss "efficient land units," "power units per man," etc. Even Jardine, Secretary of Agriculture, said in the *Magazine of Wall Street* for February 25, 1928:

> "*The lasting cure can be found only in bringing big business to the farmer or the farmer to big business.* It can only be found in a rational control by the farmer of the factors that determine price."

Still other developments are noteworthy. There is now a Society for Agricultural Engineers, and the University of Pennsylvania has installed its first Professor of Industrial Agriculture in its Wharton School and the University of Columbia has formed an Agricultural Research Bureau. Even the Department of Agriculture has begun its first study of big farming. Heretofore it just wasn't done. We had a "tradition" and the politicians who headed the Department had to uphold it. Now they are beginning timidly to study the farms of 1,000 acres or more "as a beginning to further studies."

The point to be made is that behind agricultural journalism, the Department of Agriculture, and all other elements who have given voice to the idea of reorganization, stands BIG CAPITAL.

(*To Be Continued*)

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The Negro And The Trade Unions

By OTTO HUISWOUD

At the close of the Civil War, the Negroes who had just been freed from chattel slavery, were confronted with the problem of securing the means of livelihood. Released from bondage, illiterate, possessing nothing but their brawn, they were suddenly thrust into the competitive labor market. Long accustomed to forced plantation labor, it was not easy for them to adjust themselves to the transition from chattel slavery to wage slavery. The promised "forty acres and a mule" were not forthcoming. The responsibility of securing their own food, clothing, and shelter rested upon them. They were left to shift for themselves.

One of the most important factors in the economic development of the south was the labor of the chattel slaves and that of the free Negroes. The basis of the wealth of the south was created by the Negro masses. Not only was their contribution made in the field of agriculture, but also in the skilled and semi-skilled occupations. The mechanics of the plantations and the towns were recruited from the ranks of the slaves. Charles Wesley, "*Negro Labor in the U. S.*, says:

> "Among this group of skilled laborers there were the blacksmith, the carpenter, the wheelwright, the mason, the bricklayer, the weaver, the plasterer, the painter, the tanner, the miller, the shoemaker, the harnessmaker, the cooper."

Evidently, then, the Negro also contributed to the mechanical development of the south.

THE MIGRATORY MOVEMENT

Soon after the Civil War, the migratory movement of the Negroes from the south began. Gradually they moved into the border states of Maryland, Kentucky, Virginia, etc. As early as 1879, large numbers of Negroes migrated to the west. From then on, to the period of the World War, migration has proceeded uninterrupted, sometimes becoming sensational. These migrations

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brought tens of thousands of Negro workers into the border and northern states. They came seeking work and higher wages and to escape the brutal treatment which was their lot in the south. They did not find it easy sledding in the north. Competing for jobs, they met the open hostility of the white workers and the employers. The opposition to them manifested itself in various acts of prejudice, discrimination, and in race riots. However, on many occasions, Negro workers were hired in the place of white workers. The importation of colored caulkers from Virginia to Boston, Mass., during the struggle on the eight-hour day question in 1866, caused the newly formed National Labor Union to pay some attention to the Negro workers. The workers were called upon to realize, "that there should be no distinction of race or nationality; that there is but one dividing line—that which separates mankind into two great classes, the class that labors and the class that lives by others' labor."

FIRST ENTRANCE INTO LABOR MOVEMENT

The first appearance of Negro delegates to a labor body was at the National Labor Union Assembly in Philadelphia, in August, 1869. There were nine Negro labor representatives present. They represented Negro workers' organizations such as engineers, moulders, caulkers, painters and hod-carriers. Not only did the Negro workers participate in the trade unions nationally, but in 1870 the National Labor Union of the United States, an independent Negro union, sent the first Negro delegate to the World Labor Congress in Paris.

On September 13, 1871, many Negro labor organizations participated in a parade held in New York by the International Workingmen's Association. Negro workers had heretofore been affiliated with the German Marxian labor organizations.

Race prejudice, discrimination, mistreatment of Negro workers, and disagreement between the black and white politicians, who tried to influence the local labor organizations, produced dissension and caused the formation of a separate national union by Negroes in January, 1869. The first permanent Negro labor organization convened in December, 1870, in Washington, representing 23 states with 203 delegates, under the leadership of Isaac Meyers, the first prominent Negro labor leader. After 1873 these unions began to disintegrate and like the white unions were broken up because the intriguing politicians tried to use them to further their own ambitions. This ends the first chapter in the history of trade unionism among Negroes.

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CHANGES WROUGHT BY THE WORLD WAR

During the period of the World War, the migration of Negroes into the north was tremendous and overshadowed all previous movements. Between the years of 1916 and 1923, hundreds of thousands of Negroes moved to the northern states. In the first period of migration, 1916-18, the new war industries created a demand for thousands of Negro workers. The second wave of the migratory movement during the years 1921-23 was due mainly to the cutting off of European immigration. Turning their backs to the oppressive social conditions of the south, with its intense exploitation, low wages, long hours, and espionage system, the migrants flocked into the steel mills, coal mines, cement factories, automobile factories, railroads and many other industries.

As a result, whole sections of the south were depleted of their labor supply and in many places the crops rotted with no one to attend to them, causing a loss of millions to the southern Bourbons. The employers, taking advantage of this large supply of Negro workers drifting into the north, used them to replace white workers at lower wages, and in many cases as strikebreakers. Some of the most violent race riots were directly due to this situation. The following table will show the increase of the Negro population in a few industrial states:

States	*1870*	*1920*
Pennsylvania	65,294	284,568
Ohio	63,213	186,187
New York	52,081	198,483
New Jersey	30,658	117,132
Illinois	28,762	182,274
Indiana	24,560	80,810

The process of industrialization of the Negroes can best be appreciated when we take into account not only the increase of population in the north and middle west, but also the large numbers who have entered into some of the basic industries. The role and importance of the Negro proletariat can easily be seen from the following figures:

Industrial Occupations of Negroes 1890-1920

Occupation	*1890*	*1910*	*1920*
Trade and Transportation	145,717	334,422	452,888
Manufacturing and Mechanical	207,588	552,581	886,810
Textile	.....	11,333	24,734
	353,588	898,336	1,363,432

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The following table will give us an idea of the extent to which the Negroes are gainfully occupied:

Number of Negroes in Gainful Occupations
(Exclusive of Agriculture)

Industry	*1920*
Extraction of Minerals	73,229
Manufacturing and Mechanical	886,810
Transportation	317,421
Trade	140,467
Public Service	50,552
Domestic Service	1,064,590
Clerical Occupations	37,011
Other Services (Teachers, Nurses, etc.)	80,183
	2,645,263

The foregoing tables give us a picture of the steadily increasing number of Negro workers in the basic industries and show what a powerful factor they are in the labor movement. One of the most important tasks facing the American labor movement is the organization of the large number of unorganized Negro workers. Taking his place side by side with the white workers in the gigantic factories and mills, the role the Negro will play in the every-day struggles of the working class can no longer be ignored. The racial antagonism fostered by the employers to keep white and black workers divided must be fought against for the unification of the entire working class.

In spite of the lessons learned from the great steel strike in 1919, the East St. Louis race riot during the war, and the Chicago race riot of 1919, which were due mainly to the competition for jobs between white and Negro workers, the American Federation of Labor maintains its suicidal (to the labor movement) policy of refusing to organize the mass of unorganized Negro workers. Except for a few weak and meaningless resolutions passed at some of its annual conventions, favoring the organization of colored workers, the A. F. of L. refuses to take concrete steps to actually organize these workers.

Not only this, but many of the unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. openly or covertly discriminate against the Negro workers. About eleven international unions—Machinists, Telegraphers, Railway, Boïlermakers, etc.,—exclude Negroes by constitutional or other provisions. Other unions exclude Negroes without such provisions, such as the Electricians, Plumbers, etc. Some admit Negroes, but in separate locals—Musicians, Barbers, Waiters, etc.

While Negro membership in the trade unions has increased in the last few years, it is impossible to get correct figures either as to

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the number of Negroes in the unions, or as to the number of purely Negro unions. A few unions, such as the Garment Workers, Miners, Hod-Carriers, etc., do not designate their members according to race, which makes it difficult to get actual figures as to the number of Negro workers in these unions. A survey made by Charles Johnson of a number of unions, along with certain other estimates made, while entirely incomplete, shows a Negro membership of nearly 200,000 in the trade unions:

Negroes in Trade Unions—1928[1]

Unions		*Membership*
Longshoremen		15,000
Hodcarriers and Laborers		8,000
Musicians		3,000
Garment Trades		6,000
Hotel, Restaurant Employees	(Negro)	1,000
United Mine Workers		50,000
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters) Dining Men's Association) Railwaymen's Association)	(Negro)	65,000
Postal Alliance	(Negro)	1,700
Postal Workers' Union		2,000
Letter Carriers' Association		1,000
Post Office Laborers		800
Electricians' Union (Chicago)	(Negro)	200
Plumbers' Union (Chicago)	(Negro)	200
Plasterers' Union (Chicago)	(Negro)	200

Not only is there a growing Negro proletariat, but we witness also the development of class differentiation in the Negro population. In recent years there has developed a Negro petit-bourgeoisie, and to some extent a bourgeoisie. The Negro intelligentsia plays a very important role as the leader, ideologically or otherwise, of the race movements. Until recently the Negro worker was seen, but not heard. To the degree that he becomes industrialized and class conscious, will he assume a militant and aggressive role in the race movements and give them a distinctly proletarian leadership, not only nationally, but internationally as well.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE NEGRO WORKERS

The emphasis on our Negro work today must be placed on the organization of the Negro workers in the trade unions. We must forever break with the attitude and concept of the labor bureaucracy whose argument is, first organize the white workers, then take care of the Negroes.

[1]The Negro Industrial Proletariat of America.

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The May, 1928 plenum of the C. E. C. in its resolution correctly estimated the task before the party:

> "The organization of the Negro in the trade unions must be recognized by the Party as one of its foremost tasks. The C. E. C. endorses the policies of the Political Committee on Negro work, pointing out that: a. The Negro question is a race question and the Communist Party must be the champion of the oppressed Negro race; b. the Communist Party must especially be the organizer of the working-class elements of the Negro race; c. the Communist Party must fight for the leadership of the working class in all Negro race movements; d. the work among the Negroes is not only a special task of the Negro comrades, but it is the task of the entire Party."

Recognizing the importance of organizing the Negroes in the trade-union movement, the R. I. L. U. has organized the International Negro Trade-Union Committee:

> "This committee is charged with the work of drawing Negro workers into the trade unions, the creation of new joint unions of white and Negro workers, and the creation of independent Negro unions where the white unions do not permit Negro members."

As the representative of the R. I. L. U. in America, the T. U. E. L. must take the initiative in doing trade-union work among the Negro workers. The T. U. E. L. has too long neglected this important phase of its work. The T. U. E. L. must immediately launch a campaign to organize the Negro workers either in the existing unions, where possible, or in independent Negro unions.

The task before us can be summarized as follows:

1. We must fight for the admittance and inclusion of Negro workers in the existing trade unions on an equal basis. Our fractions in these unions should raise these questions constantly.

2. We must approach the Negro workers in the shops in order to form shop committees. This will give us the necessary basis for an organization campaign.

3. We must form inter-racial committees on trade lines as an aid in organizing the Negro workers.

4. When Negroes are not admitted into existing unions, we must organize them into independent unions, and continue the fight against segregation from the regular unions.

5. In new unions, Negro workers must be taken in on a basis of complete equality. They must be drawn in on the leading committees of these unions, such as the new textile and miners' unions.

6. A complete study of conditions and methods of approach must be made in order to tackle this problem with a clear and correct program.

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History of Trade Unionism in the United States

By EARL BROWDER

(NOTE: The article printed below is an introduction prepared by Earl Browder for the Russian translation of Selig Perlman's *History of Trade Unionism in the U. S.*—EDITOR).

This book is the most reliable and well-written general history of the American trade-union movement available in a single volume. It presents the main outlines of trade-union development from its beginnings in the opening years of the XIXth century down to the close of the World War, in a brief but intelligent manner. It will prove of great value for all who find it necessary or interesting to fully understand that more modern American trade unionism which today is taking upon itself the hegemony of world reformism in much the same manner as American imperialism has assumed the dominant role among the capitalist powers of the world.

American trade unionism has been molded by many forces. Some of these are the same as, or similar to those which formed European trade unionism; others are peculiarly American. The combined effects of all these factors produced "Gompersism," the specifically American form of pre-war trade unionism, as well as its latest phase of labor banks, trade-union capitalism, etc.

Selig Perlman, the author, is a bourgeois professor who is not a Marxist, a fact which will be quite clear to the reader, especially when the final chapters are being read. In his eyes the specific American features of trade-union development constitute a refutation of Marxism, being an expression of "American principles." It is perhaps a waste of time to argue at length against this "American" conception. With the proper discount of the bourgeois point of view, there is much remaining in his book that is valuable.

It is more interesting to inquire into the reasons why American trade unions have taken a different course than even their nearest relatives, the British unions, and why it is that with the highest development of industrial technique the American labor movement has dragged along in the rear as one of the most primitive, undeveloped sections of the world's labor movement.

In spite of the fact that American trade unions began almost simultaneously with the British, they did not obtain the same degree of volume or solidarity, nor so much continuity of tradition and consciousness. The explanation must be sought in the different

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social and economic environment, and not, as Mr. Perlman would have it, in the "*uplifting* force" of the Declaration of Independence which separated the United States from England.

England of the nineteenth century was the premier capitalist land, united in territory and tightly bound by her island shores, in close proximity to Europe, leader in the development of machine industry, mistress of world commerce, and building up an overseas empire based primarily upon the intense exploitation of subject races (India).

During the same period, the United States was, on the contrary, expending all its forces in the settlement and consolidation of its own vast territory, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans, separated by thousands of miles of water from the rest of the capitalist world; in world commerce mainly a purveyor of agricultural products (wheat, cotton) and a purchaser of industrial commodities; building an "inland empire" in which the original inhabitants (American Indians) were few in number and soon practically exterminated.

The greatest differences in results upon the working class followed. In England the workers were fixed geographically and in social status; in America there was a constant draining off from the working class of all the most energetic, rebellious, and intelligent elements, away from the cities to the "frontier" and free lands, and away from the working class to agriculture and middle-class positions in society.

From this followed another characteristic difference. The British labor movement, after the storm of Chartism, entered upon the long period of junior partnership in the British Empire, consolidated by the high development of industry in the compact territory of the island country, but robbed of militancy by the seduction of a share in colonial super-profits. The "Chartist" phase of the American movement was, however, broken up and spread, geographically and chronologically, by the tremendous territory of the country and the almost unlimited local variations in the stage of development of economy. After the phase of the Knights of Labour, and up till the World War, it was characterized by a "militant opportunism" or "opportunist militancy," by means of which there gradually grew up a more or less stable trade-union structure, which alternated between the crassest class collaboration on the one hand, and on the other, sharp class struggle to the point of civil war (Homestead, Pullman, Ludlow, West Virginia).

These contradictory phases of American trade unionism before the World War reflected the contradictions of an uneven and stormy development of American industry, contradictions which

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in the case of England had been largely crystallized into the contradiction between the metropolis and the overseas colonies.

The lack of class consciousness, and the generally primitive intellectual and organizational state of the American trade unions, follows as a result of the factors before mentioned.

The constant shift and flux in the working class, the draining off of the militant elements, prevented the class as a whole from crystallizing the results of its really rich experience. It was impossible for the working class to bring into existence a well-knit body of leaders closely bound up with the class and embodying the class aspirations and experience. This contrasts sharply with the British trade-union movement, which created what was probably, up until the World War, the most solidly organized and stable working-class organization and leadership that had existed (with the possible exception of the German social democracy).

It is sometimes argued against this conception that the American trade unions have themselves gone far beyond the British in the matter of solidity and continuity of leadership; and in support of such a statement is pointed out the more than 40 years' domination by Samuel Gompers over the American trade unions, for which there is no parallel in British trade-union history.

The contradiction is, however, only apparent, not real. The dominating position of Gompers is another expression of the weakness of trade-union leadership generally in America. Gompers was able to create an illusion of strong leadership on his part precisely because of the weak character of the union leadership as a whole, weak from the point of view of its class nature, and intellectually; while one of the means of his ascendancy was also precisely the strict maintenance of an antiquated craft unionism which was itself a reflection of weak class consciousness and lack of a leadership closely connected with the masses.

It is worthy of especial note that in its early days the American trade-union movement was not afraid of contamination by contact with the international movement. In this history it is to be seen what a profound influence was exerted upon it by Karl Marx and the First International. In the '80s and '90s of the last century, in spite of its geographical isolation, the American labor movement was keenly awake and hospitable to ideas and influences from the international movement; and if it is cited against such a statement that the First International died when its headquarters were removed to America, the answer is that it had died even before in Europe.

This international orientation coincided with the period of most rapid mechanization of industry, the most severe dislocation of social life, the consolidation of a national market and national economy by the suppression of the rebellion of the south and by

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the unification of transport (railroad lines, canals, etc). It disappeared at the later period when, internationally consolidated politically and economically, the United States had emerged as a world power (war with Spain, 1898), had itself begun to acquire an overseas colonial empire (Philippines, Hawaii, etc.), and had entered the monopolist stage of industrial development (organization of the Steel Trust, 1901; the Standard Oil Co., 1900, etc.).

The American Federation of Labor established itself precisely during the period when capitalism had consolidated its forces (1897-1905). But also in this period occurred a development which was decisive for its future course; the U. S. Steel Corporation, representing the latest, basic and most typical phase of industrial development, defeated the trade unions and excluded them entirely. On the railroads, only the aristocratic independent "brotherhoods" were well established (by means of an alliance with the employers against the mass of semi-skilled and unskilled workers). And only in coal unions, among the basic occupations, did unionism of the pre-war "opportunist militancy" establish itself. For the rest, the A. F. of L. was composed primarily of skilled craftsmen in the building trades, printing trades, etc. During this period was established the trade-union movement as the expression of the labor aristocracy.

It is worthy of note that just in this period, in Britain, began the emergence of the semi-skilled and unskilled workers as active forces in British unionism.

Up until this period the number of workers in the trade unions was so small that the developments were symptomatic of the future rather than decisive. During the "storm and stress" period of the struggle of the unskilled masses for hegemony (Knights of Labour, 1886) it is true, the skilled craftsmen had come through victorious, but still with relatively a very small proportion of the workers organized. By 1905, when membership rose to two millions, their hegemony was established.

The year 1905 marked a pause in the rise of the craft unions, and thereafter only a slow growth up until the World War. It also marked another effort of the revolutionary elements to organize the masses of unskilled and semi-skilled workers outside the craft unions. The first effort in this direction had been the Knights of Labour (1886) under entirely reformist leadership; the second was the revolutionary attempt headed by Daniel de Leon and the L. P. (1895) in the form of the Socialist Trades and Labour Alliance, which soon flickered out and never gained any real vitality.

The third attempt was in 1905, with the founding of the Industrial Workers of the World (I. W. W.). It must be said that this body deserves more attention than is given it in this history, largely because for sixteen years it dominated the minds of all the

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class-conscious and revolutionary workers and determined their activities. It drained away from the mass trade unions all of those elements which had the possibility within them of crystallizing an alternative leadership against the Gompers bureaucracy, and of giving the trade-union movement more of a left orientation, while organizationally the I. W. W. was itself a complete failure.

This phase of the American movement is very inadequately treated by Perlman. The only author who has given it detailed attention is Wm. Z. Foster in his brochure *The Bankruptcy of the American Labour Movement*. But this is perhaps more of a problem in revolutionary tactics than of the actual course taken by American trade unions.

From its beginnings in the early 1800s, down to the period of the World War, American trade unionism reacted to the industrial cycle (prosperity—crisis—recovery—prosperity) in a very uniform fashion. The trade unions grew and expanded in periods of industrial prosperity; in periods of industrial crisis they were destroyed or marked time while the workers turned their attention to political action or co-operative efforts. Thus in the long depression before the Civil War of 1861-65 the trade unions were wiped out almost entirely. Beginning with the "war prosperity" of 1862, they grew and blossomed forth again. Until 1873 this was a period of founding national unions with a brief interruption of crisis in 1867-68. With the great financial crash of 1873 almost all these organizations were again wiped out and the labor movement appeared largely as a political movement in alliance with the farmers in what was known as the "Greenback" movement, a movement for cheap currency. After the great revival of 1886-87, again there was a shift to political and cooperative endeavors, although this time only the Knights of Labour was destroyed while the American Federation of Labor held its gains awaiting the next opportunity for expansion.

And this was the invariable reaction of trade-unionism to industrial fluctuations up until the period which closes this history, 1921. But it is precisely after 1921 that American trade-unionism marks a sharp departure from its previous course.

(*To Be Continued*)

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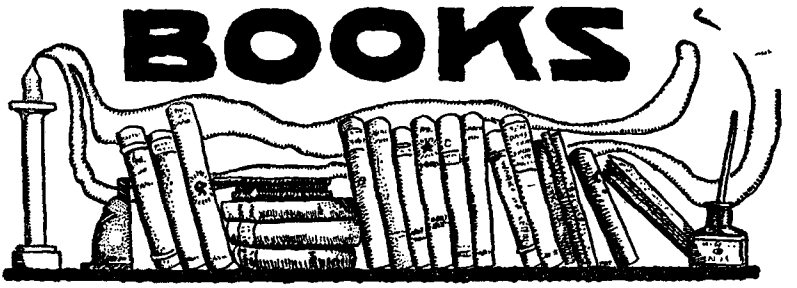

"HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS" by ANTHONY BIMBA. International Publishers, N. Y. $2.75.

This book makes an ideal introduction to the subject for a militant worker. Its purpose is implicit in its nature, namely, to provide a clear narrative of the development of the labor movement in America from its beginning to the present day, not too detailed, but having all the essentials, indicating the lessons to be learned; always keeping in mind the militant worker who has not the time to go to original sources or to wade through such a cumbrous mass of details as in Commons' *History of Labor in the United States.* Such a purpose has been excellently accomplished.

Bimba's history is vastly superior to all previous attempts to cover the same field. Superior to Commons' *History of Labor* in that Commons never for a moment makes use of the methods of historical materialism, without which history is a caricature. Superior to Simon's *Social Forces in American History* in the proportion of its parts and in the conscious focusing upon the labor movement which is lacking in the general-purpose history of Simons. Superior to O'Neal's *Workers in American History* in that O'Neal's book ends where it should begin, makes the crudest caricature of historical materialism, substituting the revolutionary viewpoint with that of petit-bourgeois pacifist liberalism.

It is not my purpose in this review to go into an analysis of O'Neal's work. Suffice it to say that the bourgeois revolutionists of the first American revolution are to him "smugglers and outlaws," that he sheds tears over the "mobbing" of the Tory governor of Massachusetts by a revolutionary crowd, that he entitles his chapter on the militant labor struggles through the period of the Civil War up to the end of the eighties, "An Era of Violence" and that he swallows whole the vile slanders of the bourgeois historians against the heroic Molly Maguires.

Bimba's book lacks the polish and the academic flavor of a work by an academically trained intellectual, and gains thereby. It is the work of a self-taught worker, to whom the class struggle is a living reality which permeates every thought and every sentence in the book.

The story is clearly developed. We begin with the white slavery of colonial times. The causes of the emigration to America are clearly traced to a Europe passing through a tremendous transformation. Their misery and class exploitation are graphically portrayed before, during and after the Revolutionary War, against a background of that important event in American history. Then the capture of the state power by the bourgeoisie as evinced in the Constitution, the class nature of which is well indicated. The stranglehold of the English bourgeoisie is broken; the shackles upon industrial development are off; industry develops at a fast tempo; the factory system begins; large cities spring up, the transformation of the labor force into an

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industrial proletariat begins; the first faint and spasmodic beginnings of the labor struggle develop therefrom. The first sign of local craft unions appears at the end of the 18th century. With a widening of the market in the 1820's comes the first gropings towards City Centrals and toward national unions.

Then we are taken through the '40s when the new problem of immigration appears; through the '50s and the period leading to the Civil War; through the Civil War and to the militant period of labor struggles of the '70s and the '80s; the rise and fall of the Knights of Labor; the rise of the A. F. of L., its reactionary role and philosophy; the beginnings of American imperialism; centralization of government; the government as strike-breaker; the role of the S. L. P., the S. P. and I. W. W. in the labor movement; the World War, its effect on American economy and on the development of the labor movement; the split in the S. P. and the birth of the communist movement in America; America today. The great Pullman strike, Haymarket, Herrin, Lawrence textile strike, the great steel strike, Passaic—all pass in vivid review. The Government as strike-breaker, the Judas role of the bureaucrats, social reformists and the S. P., class collaboration in all its forms—B. & O. Plans, labor banks, labor insurance schemes, etc.

All this and more, and not in a vacuum but against the clear background of the economic and political development of each period as a determinant. The book then indicates the lessons to be drawn from the past struggles, indicates the revolutionary heritage of the American working class, the need for a revolutionary unionism clearly based on the class struggle, against all forms of class collaboration, for the organization of the unorganized, for industrial unionism, etc., and closes with Lenin's famous prognostication in 1918:

> "The American working class will not follow the lead of the bourgeoisie. It will go with us against the bourgeoisie. The whole history of the American people gives us this confidence, this conviction."

All in all a clear and vivid picture of the development of the American working class, and I end the review of the book proper as I began: This is an ideal introduction to the subject for a militant worker.

JIM CORK.

WE FIGHT FOR OIL, by LUDWELL DENNY. 297 Pages. New York. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.00.

The main thesis of this book is, that the struggle between the two oil trusts —American Standard and the British Royal Dutch-Shell—for the control of the remaining petroleum resources of the earth and their distribution, is a part of a larger Anglo-American conflict for world domination. In itself, this oil war is not important, Mr. Denny asserts. "It is significant only as a part of a larger struggle for world mastery between two great economic empires. Seen alone it seems fantastic, impossible; against the background of the wider conflict it appears tragically inevitable."

This conclusion, based on a vast amount of official information, must have been of considerable irritation to sensitive liberals who abhor a realistic orientation in the sordid world of economic facts. Also it must have been of no slight embarrassment to the author of the "Peace Pact." In fact, it has been

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reported that when a Washington journalist had called to Mr. Kellogg's attention the arguments in *We Fight for Oil*, he affected to scoff at the suggestion that war with Britain will be the logical outcome of his foreign policy in Latin America and the Near East.

In the meantime, Mr. Denny points out, the front of the oil war extends around the world. "In Mexico there is only a temporary lull. In Central America our veiled exclusion policy is maintained with difficulty against native and British opposition. The London Government, through the Colombian concession plan, maneuvers for a strategic position dominating the Panama Canal. Hostile competition increases in Venezuela. The Mosul peace is an uneasy truce. The struggle in North Persia grows, with a Yankee named oil adviser to the government and hatred flaming against the British... The sales battle between Standard and allied British companies in India is but part of attempted American penetration behind the Empire's lines from Suez to Singapore." (The latter has reference to the Standard Oil concession with the Soviet Naphtha Syndicate for marketing Soviet oil products in the Near East and India. Incidentally, the annoyance which this concession has caused the Royal Dutch-Shell Company will be remembered by the famous homiletics regarding "stolen oil" which Sir Henri Deterding, director of the British oil trust, had released at the time upon the heads of his ethically unscrupulous American competitors.)

Especially interesting in this book are the three chapters dealing with the sharpening competition between British and American oil interests in Venezuela and Colombia.

All the factual material in Mr. Denny's book leads to the conclusion that war between Britain and America is not only "possible," but inevitable. However, Denny flinches from accepting the conclusion. In its place he substitutes at the very end of his book, the usual conclusion of the liberals that war can be averted if imperialist powers will only make the necessary efforts and sacrifices. He says:

> "The danger cannot be remedied by denying its existence. Peace cannot be maintained by repeating the lie that 'war between Great Britain and the United States is impossible.' War is possible. War is probable, unless the two empires seek, through mutual sacrifices, to reconcile their many conflicting interests. This would involve sharing raw materials and markets, and dividing sea supremacy, without violating the rights of weaker nations. If some such miracle of diplomacy is achieved, oil may cease to be an international explosive."

The theory that the leopard can change its spots, that war can be indefinitely postponed (and indefinitely postponed means eliminated) by agreements, by "changes of policy," by super-imperialist divisions of the world, "without violating the rights of weaker nations," the theory that war can be abolished without a struggle against the imperialist system which is the cause of war, such is the conclusion that Ludwell Denny permits himself to come to, in spite of all the evidence to the contrary that is contained in his book.

Which proves that the liberal can no more change his spots than the leopard. Of course Denny avows that this would be a miracle, but he prefers to speculate on the possibilities of this miracle, to devoting even a sentence in his book to the necessity of a revolutionary struggle against imperialism and imperialist war.

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We Fight for Oil is an excellent compendium of facts regarding oil imperialism, and marshalled with such dramatic sweep that the book is read with absorbing interest from beginning to end. In spite of its conclusion, it is an indispensable reference to all students of imperialism in its relation to the impending war danger. P. E. W.

Books Received for Review

STAMMERING CENTURY by GILBERT SELDES. The John Day Co. $5.00.

WHITHER MANKIND? Edited by CHAS. A. BEARD. Longmans Green & Co. $3.00.

SELECTIONS FROM THE WORKS OF THOMAS PAINE by WALLACE PEACH. Harcourt Brace & Co. $1.50.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY, THE WOMAN WHO CHANGED THE MIND OF A NATION by RHETA CHILD DORR. Frederick A. Stokes Co. $5.00.

THE SCIENTIFIC WORLD VIEW by WILLIAM KAY WALLACE. The Macmillan Co. $3.00.

ANTHROPOLOGY & MODERN LIFE by FRANZ BOAS. W. W. Norton & Co. $3.00.

BETWEEN WAR AND PEACE by FLORENCE BREWER BOECKLE. Macmillan Co. $2.50.

THE LETTERS OF SACCO AND VANZETTI edited by Marion Denman Frankfurter & Gardner Jackson. Viking Press. $2.50.

LECTURES ON CONDITIONED REFLEXES by PROF. IVAN P. PAVLOV. International Publishers, New York. $6.50.

POLITICAL BEHAVIOR by FRANK KENT. Morrow. $2.50.

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